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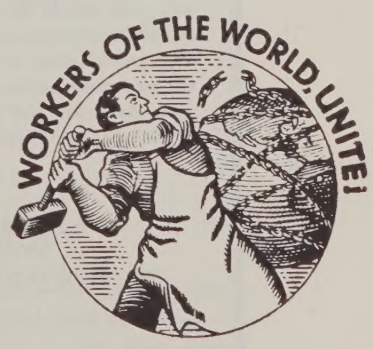

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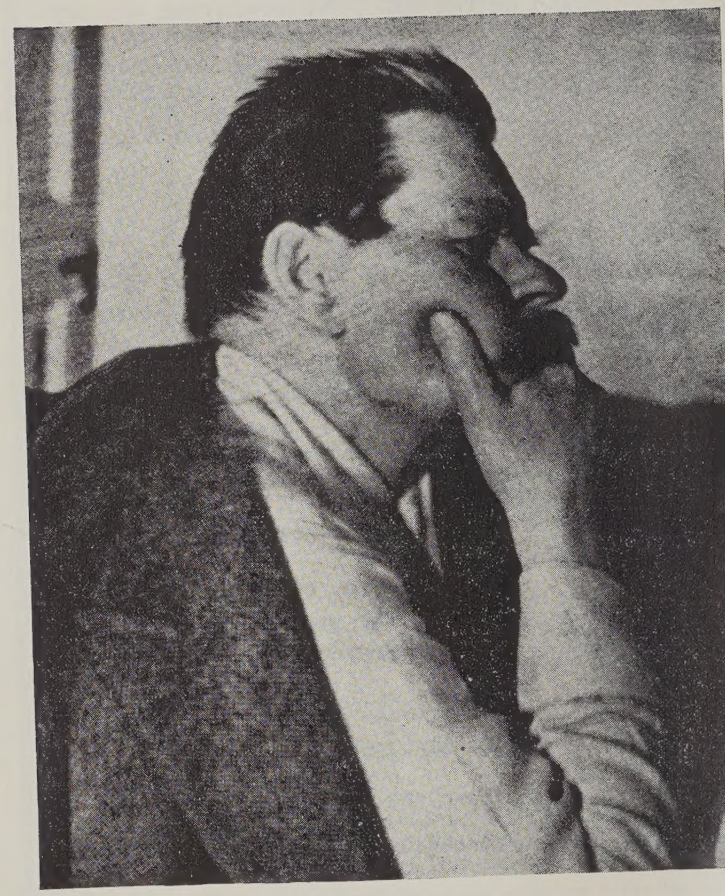

ALEXEI MAXIM GORKY
1868—1936

The Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

(FUNDAMENTAL LAW)

THE complete text of the draft of the new Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was made public by the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. on June 11, 1936.

Having heard the report of the chairman of the Constitution Commission, Comrade Stalin, on the draft of the Constitution, the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. decided:

1. To approve the draft of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. submitted by the Constitution Commission of the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R.

2. To call an All-Union Congress of Soviets to consider the draft of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

3. To convene the All-Union Congress of Soviets on November 25, 1936.

4. To publish the draft of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. for discussion by the whole population.

The decision was signed by M. Kalinin, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., and I. Unshlikht, Acting Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.

CHAPTER I

THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY

ARTICLE 1: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

ARTICLE 2: The Soviets of Toilers' Deputies, which developed and grew strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the winning of the dictatorship of the proletariat, constitute the political foundation of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 3: All power in the U.S.S.R. belongs to the toilers of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies.

ARTICLE 4: The socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the implements and means of production, firmly established as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the annulment of private property in the implements and means of production, and the abolition of exploitation of man by man, constitute the economic foundation of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 5: Socialist property in the U.S.S.R. has either the form of state property (property of the whole people) or the form of cooperative and collective farm (*kolkhoz*) property (property of individual collective farms and property of cooperative associations).

ARTICLE 6: The land and all that is beneath it, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, railways, water and air transport, banks, means of communication, large state-organized agricultural enterprises, such as state farms (*sovkhoz*), machine and tractor stations and the like, as

well as the principal dwelling fund in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is, the property of the whole people.

ARTICLE 7: Public enterprises in collective farms and cooperative organizations, with their livestock and implements, products raised or manufactured by the collective farms and cooperative organizations, as well as their public structures, constitute the public, socialist property of the collective farms and cooperative organizations.

Each collective farm household has for its own use a plot of land attached to the house and, as individual property, an auxiliary establishment on the plot, the house, produce, animals and poultry, and minor agricultural implements—in accordance with the statutes of the agricultural artel.

ARTICLE 8: The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them for perpetual use, that is, forever.

ARTICLE 9: Alongside the socialist system of economy, which is the dominant form of economy in the U.S.S.R., the law allows small private farms and other enterprises of individual peasants and home-workers based on their personal labor and precluding the exploitation of the labor of others.

ARTICLE 10: The personal property of citizens in their income from work and in their savings, in their dwelling house and auxiliary household economy, domestic articles and utensils as well as objects of personal use and comfort is protected by law.

ARTICLE 11: The economic life of the U.S.S.R. is determined and directed by the state plan of national economy for the purposes of increasing the public wealth, of steadily raising the material and cultural level of the toilers, and of strengthening the independence of the U.S.S.R. and its defense capacity.

ARTICLE 12: In the U.S.S.R. work is the duty of every able-bodied citizen, according to the principle: "He who does not work shall not eat."

In the U.S.S.R. the principle of socialism is being realized: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

CHAPTER II

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE

ARTICLE 13: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federated state, formed on the basis of the voluntary association of the following Soviet Socialist Republics possessing equal rights:

The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.
The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.
The White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic.
The Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic.
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic.
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic.
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.
The Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic.

ARTICLE 14: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its highest organs of power and organs of state administration, has charge of:

A. Representation of the Union in international relations, conclusion and ratification of treaties with other states;

B. Questions of war and peace;

C. Admission of new republics into the U.S.S.R.;

D. Supervision of the observance of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and insurance of the conformity of the Constitutions of the Union Republics with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.;

E. Ratification of alterations of boundaries between Union Republics;

F. Organization of the defense of the U.S.S.R. and the direction of all the armed forces of the U.S.S.R.;

G. Foreign trade on the basis of a state monopoly;

H. Safeguarding the security of the state;

I. Determining the plans of national economy of the U.S.S.R.;

J. Approbation of the unified state budget of the U.S.S.R. as well as of the taxes and revenues which go to form the Union, Republican and local budgets;

K. Administration of the banks, industrial and agricultural establishments and enterprises and trading enterprises of all-Union importance;

L Administration of transport and communications;

M. Direction of the monetary and credit system;

N. Organization of state insurance of property;

O. Contracting and granting loans;

P. Establishment of the basic principles governing the use of land and the exploitation of all that is beneath it, as well as of forests and waters;

Q. Establishment of the basic principles in the spheres of education and public health;

R. Organization of a single system of national economic accounting;

S. Establishment of the principles of labor legislation;

T. Legislation governing the judicial system and judicial procedure; criminal and civil codes;

U. Laws governing citizenship of the Union; laws governing the rights of foreigners;

V. Passing of amnesty acts for the entire Union.

ARTICLE 15: The sovereignty of the Union Republics is restricted only within the limits set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Outside of these limits, each Union Republic exercises state power independently. The U.S.S.R. protects the sovereign rights of the Union Republics.

ARTICLE 16: Each Union Republic has its own Constitution, which takes into account the specific features of the Republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 17: Each Union Republic reserves the right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 18: The territories of the Union Republics may not be altered without their consent.

ARTICLE 19: The laws of the U.S.S.R. have equal force in the territories of all Union Republics.

ARTICLE 20: In the event of a discrepancy between a law of a Union Republic and the law of the Union, the all-Union law prevails.

ARTICLE 21: Uniform Union citizenship is established for all citizens of the U.S.S.R. Every citizen of a Union Republic is a citizen of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 22: The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consists of the Azov-Black Sea, Far-Eastern, West Siberian, Krasnoyarsk and North Caucasian Territories; the Voronezh, East Siberian, Gorky, Western, Ivanovo, Kalinin, Kirov, Kuibyshev, Kursk, Leningrad, Moscow, Omsk, Orenburg, Saratov, Sverdlovsk, Northern, Stalingrad, Chelyabinsk, and Yaroslavl Regions; the Tatar, Bashkir, Daghestan, Buryat-Mongolian, Kabardino-Balkarian, Kalmyk, Karelian, Komi, Crimean, Mari, Mordovian, Volga German, North Ossetian, Udmurt, Chechen-Ingush, Chuvash and Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics; the Adygei, Jewish, Karachai, Oirot, Khakass and Cherkess Autonomous Regions.

ARTICLE 23: The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the Vinnitsa, Dneipropetrovsk, Donetz, Kiev, Odessa, Kharkov and Chernigov Regions and the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

ARTICLE 24: The Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region.

ARTICLE 25: The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Abkhazian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the Adjar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and the South Ossetian Autonomous Region.

ARTICLE 26: The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

ARTICLE 27: The Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region.

ARTICLE 28: The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the Aktyubinsk, Alma-Ata, East Kazakhstan, West Kazakhstan, Karaganda and South Kazakhstan Regions.

ARTICLE 29: The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, the White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic and the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic contain no Autonomous Republics or Territories and Regions.

CHAPTER III

THE HIGHEST ORGANS OF STATE POWER OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

ARTICLE 30: The highest organ of state power of the U.S.S.R. is the Supreme Council (*Verkhovny Soviet*) of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 31: The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. exercises all rights conferred upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in accordance with Article 14 of the Constitution, in so far as, by virtue of the Constitution, they do not come within the competence of organs of the U.S.S.R. which are accountable to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., *i.e.*, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 32: The legislative power of the U.S.S.R. is exercised exclusively by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 33: The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. consists of two chambers: the Council of the Union (*Soviet Soyuza*) and the Council of Nationalities (*Soviet Natsionalnostei*).

ARTICLE 34: The Council of the Union is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. on the basis of one deputy for every 300,000 of the population.

ARTICLE 35: The Council of Nationalities consists of deputies selected by the Supreme Councils of the Union and Autonomous Republics and the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the Autonomous Regions: ten deputies from each Union Republic, five deputies from each Autonomous Republic and two deputies from each Autonomous Region.

ARTICLE 36: The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. is elected for a term of four years.

ARTICLE 37: The two Chambers of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, have equal rights.

ARTICLE 38: The Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities enjoy an equal right to initiate legislation.

ARTICLE 39: A law is considered adopted if passed by both Chambers of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., by a simple majority in each.

ARTICLE 40: Laws adopted by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. are published over the signatures of the Chairman and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 41: Sessions of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities begin and terminate simultaneously.

ARTICLE 42: The Council of the Union elects a Chairman of the Council of the Union and two Vice-Chairmen.

ARTICLE 43: The Council of Nationalities elects a Chairman of the Council of Nationalities and two Vice-Chairmen.

ARTICLE 44: The Chairmen of the Council of the Union and of the Council of Nationalities preside over the meetings of the respective Chambers and are in charge of the procedure of these bodies.

ARTICLE 45: Joint sessions of both Chambers of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. are presided over alternately by the Chairman of the Council of the Union and the Chairman of the Council of Nationalities.

ARTICLE 46: Sessions of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. twice a year.

Special sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. at its discretion or on the demand of one of the Union Republics.

ARTICLE 47: In the event of disagreement between the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities the question is referred for settlement to a conciliation commission established on a parity basis. If the conciliation commission does not arrive at an agreed decision, or if its decision does not satisfy one of the Chambers, the question is considered for a second time by the Chambers. Failing an agreed decision of the two Chambers, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. dissolves the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. and fixes new elections.

ARTICLE 48: The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. elects, at a joint sitting of both Chambers, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., consisting of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., four Vice-Chairmen, the Secretary of the Presidium and 31 members of the Presidium.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. is accountable to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. for all its activities.

ARTICLE 49: The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.:

A. Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.;

B. Interprets existing laws by issuing appropriate instructions.

C. Dissolves the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. in conformity with Article 47 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and fixes new elections;

D. Holds popular consultations (referendums) on its own initiative or on the demand of one of the Union Republics;

E. Annuls such decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Councils of People's Commissars of the Republics as do not confrom to law;

F. In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., relieves of their posts and appoints People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. at the instance of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.;

G. Awards decorations of the U.S.S.R.;

H. Exercises the right of pardon;

I. Appoints and removes the High Command of the armed forces of the U.S.S.R.;

J. In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., proclaims a state of war in the event of armed attack on the U.S.S.R.;

K. Proclaims general or partial mobilization;

L. Ratifies international treaties;

M. Appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives of the U.S.S.R. to foreign states;

N. Accepts the credentials of diplomatic representatives of foreign states.

ARTICLE 50: The Council of the Union and the Council of National-

ities elect Credentials Commissions which examine the credentials of the members of the respective Chambers.

On the representation of the Credentials Commission, the Chambers decide either to endorse the credentials or to nullify the elections of the deputies concerned.

ARTICLE 51: The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of enquiry and investigation on any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of these commissions and to submit to them the necessary materials and documents.

ARTICLE 52: A deputy of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., and in the period when the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 53: On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., or after the Supreme Council has been dissolved prior to the expiration of its term of office, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. retains its powers until the formation of a new Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. by the newly-elected Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 54: On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., or in the event of its dissolution prior to the expiration of its term of office, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. appoints new elections to be held within a period of not more than two months from the date of expiration of the term of office or the dissolution of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 55: The newly-elected Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. is convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. not later than a month after the elections.

ARTICLE 56: The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., at a joint sitting of both Chambers, forms the Government of the U.S.S.R.—the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

CHAPTER IV

THE HIGHEST ORGANS OF STATE POWER OF THE UNION REPUBLICS

ARTICLE 57: The highest organ of state power of a Union Republic is the Supreme Council (*Verkhovny Soviet*) of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 58: The Supreme Council of a Union Republic is elected by the citizens of the Republic for a term of four years.

The ratio of representation is determined by the Constitutions of the respective Union Republics.

ARTICLE 59: The Supreme Council of a Union Republic is the sole legislative organ of the Republic.

ARTICLE 60: The Supreme Council of a Union Republic:

a. Adopts the Constitution of the Republic and amends it in conformity with Article 16 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.;

B. Ratifies the Constitution of the Autonomous Republics belonging to it and defines the boundaries of their territories;

C. Approves the plan of national economy and the budget of the Republic;

D. Has the right to amnesty and pardon citizens sentenced by judicial organs of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 61: The Supreme Council of a Union Republic elects a Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union Republic consisting of: the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union Republic, Vice-Chairmen, and members of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union Republic.

The powers of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of a Union Republic are defined by the Constitution of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 62: The Supreme Council of a Union Republic elects a Chairman and Vice-Chairman to conduct its meetings.

ARTICLE 63: The Supreme Council of a Union Republic forms the government of the Union Republic—the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic.

CHAPTER V

THE ORGANS OF STATE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

ARTICLE 64: The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 65: The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. is responsible to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. and accountable to it.

ARTICLE 66: The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation, and supervises their execution.

ARTICLE 67: Decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. are binding throughout the entire territory of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 68: The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.:

A. Coordinates and directs the work of the All-Union and Union-Republic People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R. and of other institutions, economic and cultural, under it;

B. Adopts measures for the fulfilment of the plan of national economy and the state budget and for strengthening the credit and monetary system;

C. Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for safeguarding the rights of citizens;

D. Exercises general control in the sphere of relations with foreign states;

E. Determines the annual contingent of citizens to be called up for

active military service and directs the general organization and development of the armed forces of the country.

ARTICLE 69: The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has the right, in respect to those branches of administration and economy which come within the competence of the U.S.S.R., to suspend decisions and orders of the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union Republics and to annul orders and instructions of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 70: The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. is formed by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. and consists of:

The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.;

The Vice-Chairmen of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.;

The Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R.;

The Chairman of the Commission of Soviet Control;

The People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.;

The Chairman of the Committee of Agricultural Stocks;

The Chairman of the Committee of Arts;

The Chairman of the Committee of Higher Education.

ARTICLE 71: The Government of the U.S.S.R. or a People's Commissar of the U.S.S.R. to whom any question of a member of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. is addressed is obliged to give a verbal or written reply in the respective Chamber within a period of not more than three days.

ARTICLE 72: The People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. direct the branches of state administration which come within the competence of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 73: The People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. issue, within the competence of the respective People's Commissariats, orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation and also of decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., and supervise their execution.

ARTICLE 74: The People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R. are either All-Union or Union-Republic Commissariats.

ARTICLE 75: The All-Union People's Commissariats direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them throughout the territory of the U.S.S.R. either directly or through bodies appointed by them.

ARTICLE 76: The Union-Republic People's Commissariats direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them through People's Commissariats of the Union Republics bearing the same name.

ARTICLE 77: The following People's Commissariats are All-Union People's Commissariats:

Defense;
Foreign Affairs;
Foreign Trade;
Railways;
Communications;

Water Transport;
Heavy Industry.

ARTICLE 78: The following People's Commissariats are Union-Republic People's Commissariats:

Food Industry;
Light Industry;
Timber Industry;
Agriculture;
State Grain and Livestock Farms;
Finance;
Internal Trade;
Internal Affairs;
Justice;
Public Health.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORGANS OF STATE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNION REPUBLICS

ARTICLE 79: The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of a Union Republic is the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 80: The Counеil of People's Commissars of a Union Republic is responsible to the Supreme Council of the Union Republic and accountable to it.

ARTICLE 81: The Council of People's Commissars of a Union Republic issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation in the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republic, and of decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., and supervises their execution.

ARTICLE 82: The Council of People's Commissars of a Union Republic has the right to suspend decisions and orders of Councils of People's Commissars of Autonomous Republics and to annul decisions and orders of Executive Committees of Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of Territories, Regions and Autonomous Regions.

ARTICLE 83: The Council of People's Commissars of a Union Republic is formed by the Supreme Council of the Union Republic and consists of:

The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republic;
The Vice-Chairman;
The Chairman of the State Planning Commission;
The People's Commissars of:
Food Industry,
Light Industry,
Timber Industry,
Agriculture,
State Grain and Livestock Farms,
Finance,
Internal Trade,

Internal Affairs,
Justice,
Public Health,
Education,
Local Industry,
Municipal Economy,
Social Maintenance;
A representative of the Committee of Agricultural Stocks;
Chief of the Office of Arts;
Representatives of the All-Union People's Commissariats.

ARTICLE 84: The People's Commissars of a Union Republic direct the branches of the state administration which come within the competence of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 85: The People's Commissars of a Union Republic issue, within the competence of the respective People's Commissariats, orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republic, of decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republic, and of orders and instructions of the Union-Republic People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 86: The People's Commissariats of a Union Republic are either Union-Republic or Republic Commissariats.

ARTICLE 87: The Union-Republic People's Commissariats direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them, and are subordinate both to the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic and to the corresponding Union-Republic People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 88: The Republic People's Commissariats direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them, and are directly subordinate to the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic.

CHAPTER VII

THE HIGHEST ORGANS OF STATE POWER OF THE AUTONOMOUS SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

ARTICLE 89: The highest organ of state power of an Autonomous Republic is the Supreme Council (*Verkhovny Soviet*) of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

ARTICLE 90: The Supreme Council of an Autonomous Republic is elected by the citizens of the Republic for a term of four years at the ratio of representation determined by the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic.

ARTICLE 91: The Supreme Council of an Autonomous Republic is the sole legislative organ of the Autonomous Republic.

ARTICLE 92: Each Autonomous Republic has its own Constitution which takes into account the specific features of the Autonomous Republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 93: The Supreme Council of an Autonomous Republic elects a Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic and forms a Council of People's Commissars of the Autonomous Republic, in accordance with its Constitution.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LOCAL ORGANS OF STATE POWER

ARTICLE 94: The organs of state power in territories, regions, autonomous regions, circuits, districts, cities and rural localities (*stanitsa*, village, hamlet, *kishlak*, *aul*) are the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies.

ARTICLE 95: The Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of territories, regions, autonomous regions, circuits, districts, cities and rural localities (*stanitsa*, village, hamlet, *kishlak*, *aul*) are elected by the toilers in the respective territories, regions, autonomous regions, circuits, districts, cities or rural localities for a term of two years.

ARTICLE 96: The ratio of representation for Soviets of Toilers' Deputies are determined by the Constitutions of the Union Republics.

ARTICLE 97: The Soviets of Toilers' Deputies direct the activities of the organs of administration subordinate to them, ensure the maintenance of public order, the observance of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens, carry on local economic and cultural construction and draw up the local budget.

ARTICLE 98: The Soviets of Toilers' Deputies adopt decisions and issue orders within the limits of the powers conferred on them by the laws of the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 99: The executive and administrative organs of the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the territories, regions, autonomous regions, circuits, districts and cities are the Executive Committees elected by them, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman and members.

ARTICLE 100: The executive and administrative organs of rural Soviets of Toilers' Deputies in small localities, in accordance with the Constitutions of the Union Republics, are the Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen elected by them.

ARTICLE 101: The executive organs of the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies are directly accountable both to the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies which elected them and to the executive organs of the superior Soviets of Toilers' Deputies.

CHAPTER IX

THE COURTS AND THE STATE ATTORNEY'S OFFICE

ARTICLE 102: Justice in the U.S.S.R. is administered by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Courts of the Union Republics, the Territorial and Regional courts, the courts of the Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions, special courts of the U.S.S.R. estab-

lished by decision of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., and the People's Courts.

ARTICLE 103: In all courts cases are tried with the assistance of people's assessors, with the exception of cases specially provided for by law.

ARTICLE 104: The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is the highest judicial organ. It exercises supervision over the actions and proceedings of all the judicial organs of the U.S.S.R. and Union Republics.

ARTICLE 105: The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and the special courts of the U.S.S.R. are elected by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 106: The Supreme Courts of the Union Republics are elected by the Supreme Councils of the Union Republics for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 107: The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics are elected by the Supreme Councils of the Autonomous Republics for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 108: Territorial and Regional courts, and the courts of Autonomous Regions are elected by the Territorial or Regional Soviets of Toilers' Deputies or by the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the Autonomous Regions for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 109: People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot for a term of three years.

ARTICLE 110: Court proceedings are conducted in the language of the Union Republic, Autonomous Republic or Autonomous Region, persons not knowing this language being ensured every opportunity of acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter and the right to speak in court in their own language.

ARTICLE 111: In all courts of the U.S.S.R. cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right of defense.

ARTICLE 112: Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

ARTICLE 113: Highest supervision over the strict execution of the laws by all People's Commissariats and institutions under them, as well as by official persons and by citizens of the U.S.S.R., is exercised by the State Attorney of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 114: The State Attorney of the U.S.S.R. is appointed by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. for a term of seven years.

ARTICLE 115: State Attorneys of Republics, Territories and Regions, as well as State Attorneys of Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions, are appointed by the State Attorney of the U.S.S.R. for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 116: State Attorneys of Districts are appointed for a term of five years by the State Attorneys of the Union Republics and confirmed by the State Attorney of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 117: The State Attorney's offices perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever and are subordinate solely to the State Attorney of the U.S.S.R.

CHAPTER X

THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

ARTICLE 118: Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work—the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the absence of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment.

ARTICLE 119: Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to rest and leisure.

The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the reduction of the working day to seven hours for the overwhelming majority of the workers, the institution of annual vacations with pay for workers and other employees and the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes, and clubs serving the needs of the toilers.

ARTICLE 120: Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work.

This right is ensured by the wide development of social insurance of workers and other employees at state expense, free medical service, and the wide network of health resorts at the disposal of the toilers.

ARTICLE 121: Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal, compulsory elementary education, by the fact that education, including higher (university) education is free of charge, by the system of state scholarships for the overwhelming majority of students in the higher schools, by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, and by the organization of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the toilers in the factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms.

ARTICLE 122: Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The exercise of these rights of women is ensured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, and by state protection of the interests of mother and child, pregnancy leave with pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

ARTICLE 123: The equality of the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an immutable law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of these rights, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.

ARTICLE 124: In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.

ARTICLE 125: In conformity with the interests of the toilers, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed:

A. Freedom of speech;

B. Freedom of the press;

C. Freedom of assembly and of holding mass meetings;

D. Freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These rights of the citizens are ensured by placing at the disposal of the toilers and their organizations printing presses, supplies of paper, public buildings, the streets, means of communication and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

ARTICLE 126: In conformity with the interests of the toilers, and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the U.S.S.R. are ensured the right to unite in public organizations—trade unions, cooperative associations, youth organizations, sport and defense organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically conscious citizens from among the working class and other strata of the toilers unite in the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., which is the vanguard of the toilers in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and which represents the leading core of all organizations of the toilers, both social and state.

ARTICLE 127: The citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed inviolability of person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of court or with the sanction of a State Attorney.

ARTICLE 128: The inviolability of the homes of citizens and secrecy of correspondence are protected by law.

ARTICLE 129: The U.S.S.R. grants the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the toilers or for their scientific activities or for their struggle for national liberation.

ARTICLE 130: It is the duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to observe the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to observe the laws, to maintain labor discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist human intercourse.

ARTICLE 131: It is the duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to safeguard and fortify public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperous and cultural life of all the toilers.

Persons attempting to infringe upon public, socialist property are enemies of the people.

ARTICLE 132: Universal military service is a law.

Military service in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is an honorable duty of the citizens of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 133: To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. Treason against the country—violation of the oath, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state,

or espionage on behalf of a foreign state—is punishable with the full severity of the law as the most grievous offense.

CHAPTER XI

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

ARTICLE 134: Members of all Soviets of Toilers' Deputies—of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Councils of the Union Republics, the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the Territories and Regions, the Supreme Councils of the Autonomous Republics, the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of Autonomous Regions, circuit, district, city and rural (*stanitsa*, village, hamlet, *kishlak*, *aul*) ; Soviets of Toilers' Deputies —are elected by the voters on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

ARTICLE 135: Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the U.S.S.R. who in the year of the elections have reached the age of eighteen have the right to vote in elections of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of the insane and persons deprived of electoral rights by sentence of court.

ARTICLE 136: Elections of deputies are equal: every citizen has the right to elect and be elected irrespective of race or nationality, religion, standard of education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities.

ARTICLE 137: Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

ARTICLE 138: Citizens serving in the Red Army have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

ARTICLE 139: Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Toilers' Deputies, from rural and city Soviets of Toilers' Deputies up to and including the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., are elected by the citizens by direct vote.

ARTICLE 140: Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

ARTICLE 141: Candidates are nominated for election according to electoral districts.

The right to nominate candidates is granted to public organizations and societies of toilers: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

ARTICLE 142: It is the duty of every deputy to report to the electors on his work and on the work of the Soviet of Toilers' Deputies, and he is liable to be recalled at any time in the manner established by law upon decision of a majority of the electors.

CHAPTER XII

EMBLEM, FLAG, CAPITAL

ARTICLE 143: The state emblem of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consists of a sickle and hammer against a globe depicted in the rays of the sun and surrounded by ears of grain with the inscrip-

tion in the languages of the Union Republics—"Workers of the World, Unite!" Above the emblem is a five-pointed star.

ARTICLE 144: The state flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is of red cloth with the sickle and hammer depicted in gold in the upper corner near the staff and above them a five-pointed red star bordered in gold. The relation of the width to the length is 1:2

ARTICLE 145: The capital of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the City of Moscow.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PROCEDURE FOR AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE 146: The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. may be amended only by decision of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes cast in each of its Chambers.

* * *

[In publishing the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. the Editorial Board invites readers to express their opinion on the draft and what conclusions they draw for the struggle of the people of their country in the defense and extension of democratic rights..

EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL]

The International Congress for Peace

THE appeal has been published of the Initiatory Committee for the convening of an International Peace Congress on September 4-6, 1936. The appeal is signed by a number of most prominent European public men and statesmen.

It can be seen from statements issued by the Initiatory Committee that 27 countries have so far joined the movement for the convening of the Congress, while secretariats to direct the movement have been formed in all countries, and consist of authoritative people who possess great influence in their respective countries. Representatives of such mass organizations as the French, British and Spanish trade unions have joined the movement. What is particularly important is the fact that the movement is supported by the representatives of the Soviet trade unions, which have 20 million people in their ranks.

What should be the attitude of the international proletariat towards this Congress?

The initiative in convening the Congress originates from British circles of friends of peace. The exceptional success of last year's peace ballot in Great Britain, organized by the League of Nations Union, gave rise to the idea that an international congress of peace should be convened. For the first time in the history of Great Britain, eleven million people participated in a general ballot organized on the initiative of a public organization. And they all declared themselves for the defense of peace and against the fascist aggressors. The British ballot aroused a wide echo in other countries as well.

We speak of the friends of peace in England, as distinct from those British politicians who masquerade in pacifist clothes, but in practice help German fascism, the chief incendiary of war in Europe. Quite a number of British politicians are not averse to helping to strengthen the political and economic influence of German fascism in Central and Southeastern Europe, often with pacifist phrases on their lips. In general these circles are inclined to seek a way out of the present crisis of Great Britain's foreign policy by directing Hitler's criminal aggression towards Central and Southeastern Europe, towards the East and the U.S.S.R. As against these politicians, the friends of peace in Great Britain support the initiative of the League of Nations Union.

In its appeal, the Initiatory Committee for the convening of the Peace Congress says:

> "Peace, the greatest blessing of mankind, is in danger. The League of Nations—the instrument of international policy, formed after the bloody war, for the peaceful solution of all conflicts—is passing through a bitter crisis. Some governments have openly violated the statutes of the League of Nations and international treaties. War—this disgrace to humanity—is lauded by some as a thing of the greatest glory. In this situa-

tion we appeal to all peoples of the globe and to all organizations who stand for the defense of peace, to coordinate their efforts."

All this is correct. The appeal deserves the whole-hearted support of the international proletariat. But we must state openly that this is not enough. There are extremely important questions which require to be fully clarified if the Congress is to achieve its aims. At this Congress the masses of the workers will try to achieve this clarity and find a common line in the struggle for the preservation of peace with all sincere friends of peace, irrespective of their political convictions and religious views.

The Congress can become a serious factor in the struggle for peace. But if it is to do so, it must first of all not limit itself merely to the adoption of a good resolution.

> "It is absolutely inadequate to carry on general propaganda against war. Propaganda against war 'in general' does not in the slightest degree hinder the conspirators sitting in Berlin or Tokyo from carrying out their dastardly work. They would be extremely satisfied if the working class were to go no further than such general propaganda."*

The struggle to maintain peace will only be successful if the blows dealt by the friends of peace are directed against the instigators of war in the international arena—against German fascism and the fascist military clique in Japan—and against the forces inside each country which are helping them directly or indirectly. The present international situation imperatively demands this.

With the occupation of the Rhineland by the troops of the Hitler government, a definite stage was completed in the foreign policy of the "Third Reich". It was a stage consisting of measures operated by the fascist dictatorship directed towards the liquidation of the Versailles and Locarno Treaties and carried out on the territory of Germany itself. The new stage in the foreign policy of German fascism is linked up with aggression outside the frontiers of Germany.

The danger of aggression by Hitler against Austria has become very acute, both by way of disruptive work inside the country and possible military interference from without. Czechoslovakia is also directly menaced with being attacked by Hitler Germany.

The German fascists are in alliance with the savage Japanese military clique, the chief instigators of war in Asia, so as to carry out their criminal plans.

Hitler's plans also have the active support of the Pilsudskyites. The government that has just come to power in Poland is doing everything in its power to combine increasing oppression of the working class and the masses of the people in its own country with active support for the warlike policy of German fascism. Beck, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, against the wishes and interests of the Polish people themselves, is touring the capitals of Europe as the agent of German fascism, with the aim of building a bloc of fascist states.

The Italo-Ethiopian war has encouraged the chief instigators of

* G. Dimitroff, "United Front of Struggle for Peace", see *The Communist International*, No. 6, p. 721.

war to undertake new aggressive action. The annexation of Ethiopia has shown that the aggressor need fear no punishment, and has turned the Mediterranean Sea into a hot-bed of Anglo-Italian conflicts. Seeing that Italian fascism was able to indulge in plunder in Africa with impunity, the chief enemies of peace—German fascism in Europe and the Japanese military clique in the Far East—have advanced further on the road to their criminal designs during the last few months.

The danger of war is now more immediate than at any time before since the imperialist war of 1914-18. The convening of a Congress of Peace is both timely and necessary. And it will achieve its aims only if it does not limit itself merely to issuing manifestoes, but draws up a concrete platform of struggle for peace against the instigators of war, and establishes an authoritative center, which will unite all the friends of peace, and constantly direct, adjust and coordinate their actions.

The Congress will really achieve its aims if it succeeds in *coordinating the movement of the various countries on the basis of a single platform of struggle for peace.* This does not in the least mean that the actions of the friends of peace should be identical in the various countries, but presupposes that the struggle in each separate country will be carried on in the direction, and by the ways and means called for by the concrete situation.

In Great Britain, for example, the main blow of the friends of peace is directed against support being given by the ruling circles to the Hitler regime and its aggression. In France, the friends of peace concentrate their fire against the fascist leagues, the agents and supporters of Hitler inside the country. In Poland, the workers and the widest masses of people are determined in their demand for the annulment of the Polish-German military alliance which threatens to drag Poland into a criminal war. In Czechoslovakia, whose national independence is directly threatened by German fascism, the people most dangerous to the cause of peace are not only the direct agents of Hitler, but also the parties, groups and individuals who are prepared to compromise with Hitler. These parties and groups, which have their influential representatives in the ruling circles as well, are inclined towards a policy of agreement with German fascism, a policy which must inevitably lead to Czechoslovakia losing its independence.

Secondly, the Congress will only fulfill its task if it organizes public opinion in favor of peace. Such a situation of vigilance, discontent and indignation against the aggressor must be created that all honest people will brand the enemies of peace with scorn. *Tremendous moral pressure must be brought to bear,* so that the instigators of war may experience the greatest uncertainty and not dare to carry on a campaign in favor of war. It is sufficient to refer to the insolence with which the German fascists and Japanese fascist military clique openly and defiantly preach their misanthropic ideas to be convinced of the importance of solving this task. The representatives of German fascism and the Japanese military clique carry on a cynical agitation in the schools, theatres, cinemas, press and in literature in favor of a violent redivision of the globe and of

war. All honest people must fight, as against the plague, these ideas which originate from the Hitlerites and their Japanese friends.

Thirdly, the congress will *really* serve the cause of peace if *it helps to unite the forces of the proletariat, the peasantry, working intellectuals and all friends of peace against the fascist warmongers.* All tendencies must, therefore, be rejected which strive to narrow down the movement for the Congress and which limit participation in the Congress itself. On the contrary the success of the Congress will depend entirely on how far success is achieved in developing the mass movement around it. The movement for the Congress should rouse millions of people. It must not be a congress of individual political leaders nor even of individual parties and organizations, *but a congress of as wide masses of people as possible fighting for peace.*

Fourthly, the interests of the struggle to maintain peace require that the Congress should give a mighty impulse to the further development of such a mass movement as will constantly bring pressure to bear on the governments of the capitaist countries and on the League of Nations, forcing them to take effective measures against the chief instigators of war. The necessity for such a movement has been sufficiently proved by the experience of the operation of sanctions against Italian fascism.

The reason for the failure of the measures adopted by the League of Nations against Italian fascism was that the League of Nations and the governments of capitalist countries were not forced by an extensive mass movement to put effective measures into practice in defense of peace. The annexation of Ethiopia proves not the futility of international action against the aggressor, but that such actions by capitalist states can only be effective if constant pressure is brought to bear on them by movements of the people.

In its appeal, the Initiatory Committee considers the conditions for the preservation of peace to be: (1) the inviolability of contractual obligations; (2) the reduction and limitation of armaments by the conclusion of international agreements, and also the prohibition of profit-making from the sale of arms; (3) the strengthening of the League of Nations so that war can be prevented and stopped by the real organization of collective security and mutual aid; (4) the creation of the means, within the framework of the League of Nations, for settling international conflicts.

The Congress, however, cannot limit itself only to the organization of public pressure on the League of Nations.

> "While demanding effective measures from the League of Nations and the bourgeois governments against the aggressiveness of the fascist warmongers, the proletariat must not forget for a moment that the *chief fundamental and decisive thing in the maintenance of peace is the independent action of the masses in defense of peace, against the concrete war incendiaries.*"*

The policy of the League of Nations cannot in the least replace the independent action of the wide masses. On the contrary, the actions of the League of Nations themselves depend upon the joint independent

* *Ibid.*, p. 725.

actions of the wide masses. *The Congress will accomplish a historical task if it succeeds in laying the foundations for independent joint action by the friends of peace in all countries.*

What can the friends of peace oppose to the chief instigators of war? The warmongers' front must be countered by an international united front of struggle for peace. This front is in a position to unite entire nations and can reckon on the support of those states which today, for one reason or another, do not want war. This front can base itself on the support of the great socialist state, the U.S.S.R. whose entire economic and military power stands on guard to preserve peace. *Therefore, the front of peace can be victorious and war can be prevented.*

The Initiatory Committee for the convening of the Congress of Peace has succeeded in developing wide activity in a very short time.

The first imposing successes show that this movement is in a position to embrace very wide masses of people. Only the international working class, acting jointly and in a united front, can be the pivot and the driving force of such a movement. The success of the whole movement for peace depends upon the activity of the working class, upon how far their actions are in unison.

The class organizations of the proletariat are naturally interested in being in the first ranks of the movement. They should be the first to draw up a platform of concrete struggle for peace, and unite all the toilers, all the friends of peace around this platform. They should organize and inspire the whole movement.

The Communists and all revolutionary workers are particularly concentrating their efforts to prepare the Congress in the workers' organizations. They are carrying on a stubborn struggle to ensure that these organizations occupy their requisite place in the movement for the Peace Congress.

The recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International in Brussels (May 19, 1936) decided to reject the proposal to join the movement for an International Peace Congress, although individual Socialist Parties and the biggest trade union organizations support this movement. Torn by internal disagreement, the Executive Committee of the Second International proved incapable of adopting a unanimous decision on such an important question and left the question of participation in the Congress to be decided by its individual affiliated parties. The Executive Committee of the Second International has shown that it is incapable of adopting a decision on the most important questions facing the international labor movement. Such was the case with regard to the proposal to establish a united front between the Communist International and the Labor and Socialist International, between the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties, on the question of the struggle against the war danger in connection with the offensive of Italian fascism on the Ethiopian people. Such is the case again today on the question of the Peace Congress.

At the same session in Brussels, the Executive Committee adopted a resolution on the question of the struggle for peace in which it stated that "a peace policy will be secure only if it has behind it the invincible

force of the people's movement'. This statement does a great deal of its power of conviction in view of the fact that it silently ignores the question of unity of action between the two Internationals. It is especially difficult to reconcile the idea of such a 'people's movement' with a refusal to participate in the International Peace Congress. Such a position is hostile to the struggle for the preservation of peace and is of benefit only to the enemies of peace.

The refusal of the Executive Committee of the Second International to participate in the convening of the Congress does not mean that united action by the proletariat in this movement is impossible. The Communists and supporters of the united front should increase their efforts tending to bring about united action by the proletariat in the struggle for peace, as well as in the movement for the Peace Congress and at the Congress itself.

The 'Left' warmongers of all shades take an openly hostile attitude towards the movement for the Peace Congress. Thus, for example, the Independent Labor Party in Great Britain refuses to participate in the Congress. Actually this is but a continuation of the policy pursued by this party, a policy which is a classic example of the attempt by the use of 'Left' phrases, to reflect the working masses from their struggle for peace. The position adopted by the Independent Labor Party with regard to the struggle against the war conducted by Italian fascism is particularly characteristic. McGovern, M.P., a member of the I.L.P., raised a number of questions in the House of Commons with a view to proving that the use of poison gas by the Italian army in Ethiopia was allegedly resorted to by the previous atrocities of the Ethiopians, and it is worthy of note that he gathered his information from quite a 'respectable' source, namely from the material distributed by the Italian Embassy in London. The leaders of the I.L.P. are trying to justify their position by stating that the blow of the working class and all supporters of peace should be directed both against Abyssinia and the Negus, that the former (head of attacking and wounding sides), but Italy and Ethiopia are imperialist states. Such a 'Left' position clearly plays into the hands of the fascist aggressor. The refusal of the I.L.P. to participate in the convening of the Peace Congress is a continuation of this policy.

Neither the machinations of the 'Left' warmongers nor the utterly vile sabotage of the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor Internationals should hinder the development of the rapidly growing movement for the International Peace Congress.

The urge to undertake active struggle against war is growing among the masses of the people. 'There is not a people in the world that wants war' - Stalin.

In all countries, the forces declaring for peace are growing. Along with the International Peace Congress, the League of Nations Union is convening an international youth congress in defense of peace in Geneva in August '36. Big preparatory work for this Congress is already in full swing in a number of countries. The younger generation, for whom the fascist instigators of a new war are preparing a future in the trenches, is being roused to active struggle for peace. In Brussels recently the

representatives of organizations with a total membership of twelve million young people demonstrated their desire for peace. The Brussels Youth Conference loudly declared that the path to the fields of battle is not the path to life for which the young people are striving.

It is to be regretted, however, that the forces of the supporters of peace are still scattered, insufficiently united, and insufficiently active. The movement for the convening of the International Congress and the Congress itself can give great help in uniting these forces and rousing them to action in the interests of peace, in the interests of the whole of mankind.

The international united front of the struggle for peace will be established, and the proletariat will be in the first lines of this front. Comrade Dimitroff recently characterized this front in the following words:

> "Such a united front of peace is required which will not only include the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals and other toilers, but also the oppressed nations and the peoples of countries whose independence is threatened by the warmongers. A peace front is required which would extend to all parts of the world, from Tokyo to London, from New York to Berlin, fighting with might and main against the warmongers, against German fascism in Europe, against the Japanese military clique in the Far East. And this peace front will become powerful and invincible if it organizes concrete mass action, not restricting itself to protests, resolutions and declarations."*

The movement for the Congress, and the Congress itself can become a serious step on the road to the fulfillment of this aim, to the creation of such a peace front. The passionate call of Comrade Dimitroff, the Stalinist helmsman of the Communist International, will be heard by the proletariat, toilers and friends of peace in all countries.

The united front of peace can and must be victorious!

* *Ibid.*, p. 721.

The Struggle Against the Hitlerites and the Hapsburgs in Austria

By P. VIDEN

HITLER is directly menacing the independence of Austria. Hitler fascism is consistently carrying out a considered plan, namely, that of subordinating the whole of Central Europe to its rule, on pretext of uniting all the Germans, and, after enslaving the small countries, to attack France and the Soviet Union. The increased activity of Hitler's agents in Austria, the audience given by Hitler to the National-Socialist leaders who had fled from Austria, and the concentration of German troops on the Austrian frontier, all show the direction in which German fascism is preparing to deal its next blow. By threats and extortion, by seditious work within the country, and, in the last analysis, by direct armed intervention, Hitler fascism is planning to subject Austria to its own rule. Today Austria is one of the main focal points of peace in Europe. Were Hitler to succeed in cutting this knot, and in conquering Austria, it would be an act provoking war in Europe. *To defend independence of Austria is to defend European peace, international peace.*

This matter is rendered more difficult by a number of factors, and first and foremost by the policy of the fascists in power in Austria. Austrian fascism makes the pretense of being a defender of Austrian independence. It explains all its measures directed against the people on the grounds that they are necessary in the interests of the independence of Austria. In the days of February, 1934, fascism suppressed the Austrian workers, smashed their organizations and threw their trusted leaders into jail "in the interests of the independence of Austria". It bound hand and foot and enslaved the workers, the ones who are always ready to defend the freedom of the people against Hitler, "in the interests of the independence of Austria". Fascism reduced wages, plundered the toilers, and tremendously enriched a few dozen of the big landlords and bankers "in the interests of the independence of Austria". It allows Hitler's agents, deadly enemies of Austrian independence, to remain in the courts, the army, the police, and the whole governmental apparatus, "in the interests of the independence of Austria". It has systematically undermined the power of the Austrian people to resist unification with the "Third Empire", "in the interests of the independence of Austria". In short, it is doing everything to destroy the independence of Austria, "in the interests of the independence of Austria".

Even before the February days, *three political fronts* were formed in Austria—the working class front, the front of Austrian fascism and the front of Hitler fascism. The lines pursued by the fronts of Austrian and Hitler fascism had by no means taken final form, and the correlation of forces was not so unchanging, as some people claimed; considerable and rapid changes were then and are now possible in the correlation of forces, as were and are now possible movements from one camp to the

other and even the fusion of various parts of both camps.

The National-Socialists only began to act as the third force in Austria after the Hitler movement had swept over Germany. They used the urge existing among a considerable number of the Austrian people for state unification with the German people for their own political purposes, and brought their influence to bear on the peasants and the middle classes who were desperate owing to their economic impoverishment. The organized kernel of the National-Socialist Party in Austria is only an insignificant minority. The sources from which the Nazis in Austria draw their forces are the sons of the old German nationalists from the Alps, the intellectuals of the provinces, engineers who occupy leading positions in the factories, civil servants, officials of the law courts, lawyers, druggists, teachers and students. Behind them are the iron and steel magnates of Styria, who are closely linked up with German trusts, and who support the National-Socialist movement, though not with the same unanimity as a few years ago. The frightful economic crisis, the helpless economic policy of the Christian Social Party governments, which sucked the lifeblood out of the people, the inability of Social-Democracy, which had the support of the vast majority of the working class of Austria, to understand the essence of the peasant question and the problem of the Leftward-moving middle classes, all this has resulted in broad sections of the impoverished peasants and middle classes falling easy victims to Nazi agitation. Only an insignificant section of these peasants and middle class people are convinced National-Socialists. The source of their sympathy for the Hitler movement lies in their hatred for the regime which is against the people, which is plundering the country and chaining it to the chariot wheel of Italian fascism, their keen desire for at least some definite change, and their hopes for economic improvement if Austria is joined to Germany. A democratic government that defended the people from being robbed by the bankers and the big landlords, that took steps, at the expense of the rich, against poverty and that improved the lot of the toilers, that converted Austria from a prison into a country of free people—such a government would rapidly eliminate the influence of the National-Socialists and would arouse tremendous forces from among the people for the fight for peace and the independence of Austria.

Austrian fascism, which nurtured the Hitlerites side by side with itself, is rent with internal strife. The government of February assassins has succeeded not only in engendering a profound hatred among the proletariat for the regime, and in driving a section of the toilers into the arms of the National-Socialists, but in rousing an internecine struggle *in its own ranks*. The people who emerged as the real victors of the February battles were the finance capitalists, the owners of the *Kreditanstalt*, this all-devouring banking giant, the industrialists and big landlords. They made the utmost use of this victory. They carried the exploitation of the workers and the plunder of the peasants and the urban middle classes to extreme and utterly unbearable limits, but this was not enough for them. They reduced the already miserable wages by one third on the average; and are casting the burden of ever new taxes onto the people, and putting fantastic profits into their own pockets. But this is still not enough for them. They are complaining of being "hindered"

in their policy of plunder, and are seeking to bring about the liquidation of the united trade unions formed by the government, and to subject the cooperative societies and the peasant mortgage banks to their orders.

The ultra-reactionary robber elements of the bourgeoisie, in their struggle to avoid being forced to make concessions to the workers and the peasants, employ the services of the Heimwehr. At the same time, the Heimwehr is the instrument of Italian imperialism in Austria and is a private army of Mussolini's hirelings. There are about 40,000 armed Heimwehr men in Austria, recruited in various districts from various sections of the population.

The majority of the Vienna Heimwehr consists of declassed proletarians. A large number of the members of the Vienna Heimwehr have served sentences for crime. As before, the chief of the Vienna Heimwehr is the bloody hound of the February events, the unchangeably corrupt Fey. This fascist chief has sold himself to Hitler. He was one of the organizers of the July putsch, to which Dollfuss fell victim. Fey was thrown out of the government. He was also forced to give up the post of district leader of the Vienna Heimwehr. But his influence in the Vienna Heimwehr has not been broken, and on May 1, for example, not long before the fall of Starhemberg, he contrived to hold a street demonstration of his Heimwehr supporters against Schuschnigg.

The Heimwehr of Lower Austria consists mainly of peasants and is connected by thousands of threads with the Peasant League. At all decisive moments, the Heimwehr of Lower Austria has supported the clericals.

In other regions, the Heimwehr consists of peasants and bourgeois youth, and in the industrial districts of Styria, to some extent, of workers. The Alpine Heimwehr is falling more and more under the influence of the National-Socialists, who have secured strong positions in it, as far as the regional leadership. Indignation and anger against the government have been growing in recent months both in the ranks of the Vienna and the Alpine Heimwehr.

Like the Storm Troopers of Germany, before the bloody events of June 30, the Austrian Heimwehr felt that they had been left out in the cold, that they had not received what they deserved for the services they had rendered, that the sanctimonious clericals had fooled them. They put pressure on Starhemberg, threatening an armed mutiny. Starhemberg, who was being pressed on the one hand by his dissatisfied supporters and on the other by the ultra-reactionary industrialists, plucked up courage at last to attack his clerical allies—and was defeated.

The clericals cunningly and smartly outflanked the Heimwehr who had held a dominating position since the February battles, and gradually squeezed them out of the leadership. They based themselves on the most influential circles of finance capital, on the big directors in the *Kreditanstalt* and in the national bank who are most closely connected with British and French financial circles. Further, the clericals based themselves on the monarchist officers in the army and the gendarmerie, on the Catholic church and the organizations under its leadership, on a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie, on the Christian workers and on the powerful Peasant League. The chief mass organization of the clericals is the

Peasant League, led by the kulaks, a reactionary organization, but one having a certain amount of democracy. The vast majority of the Austrian peasantry are now organized in it. The agricultural cooperative societies and the mortgage banks are under the leadership of the Peasant League, which has never given up its independence. On the one hand, it has set the peasants against the workers, but, on the other hand, it has carried on a stubborn struggle against the Heimwehr and their efforts to bring about "totalitarian" fascism, and tried to resist the onslaught of finance capital.

Not only the Peasant League, however, but the unified trade unions are of great importance for the clericals, who are trying by every demagogic method to win over the workers in the unified trade unions, and thus to create a counterpoise against the influence of the Nazis and the Heimwehr. Owing to this demagogy, conducted not without cleverness and not without success, the Minister of Social Support, Dobretsberger, drew the anger of the industrialists and the Heimwehr onto himself, Schuschnigg excluded him from the government along with Starhemberg, so as not to "needlessly infuriate" the Federation of Industrialists, and to depict the defeat of the Heimwehr not as a victory of the "democrats", but as a victory for the power of the state.

Finally, the clericals have at their disposal two military organizations formed by Schuschnigg—the *Ostmärkische Sturmscharen* (Eastern Storm Detachments), inclined favorably to the monarchy, and the League of Liberation, formed by the democrat Kuntchak, the leader of the former Christian trade unions, which has democratic traditions and from the point of view of the Heimwehr is a "second edition of the Schutzbund".

In the camp of the clericals there are also various trends—the clearly marked fascists, who support Schuschnigg, the reactionary Peasant League, which nevertheless defends its independent existence and internal democracy, and then the old active members of the Christian Social Party, most of whom are monarchist in sentiment, but who demand democratic concessions; and behind them are the Christian workers and various groups of the petty bourgeoisie of the towns. Among the old cadres of the Christian Social Party, it is beginning to be more and more clearly understood how fatal not only for Austria but also for the Christian Social Party was the suppression of the workers in the February days. At that time, the leaders of the Christian Social Party tried to come to an arrangement with the extreme Right wing leaders of Social-Democracy, to split Social-Democracy and include its reactionary wing in a "government of estates". But the Heimwehr, by its attacks, broke down this plan and caused a bloody struggle to take place. The old leaders of the Christian Social Party, however, did not entirely give up their plan. Now that Starhemberg has been overthrown they are doing their utmost to reach some agreement with the reformist leaders of Social-Democracy.

The leaders of the Christian Social Party evidently hope that they will succeed by means of serious concessions, in persuading the workers to assent to the restoration of the Hapsburgs being prepared by the clericals, and the establishment of a "democracy of estates" in Austria headed by the Hapsburgs.

The speculative plan of restoring the Hapsburgs to Austria is already close to its completion. According to the schemes of the clericals, the Hapsburgs are to stabilize the shaken and insecure regime of Austrian fascism, and simultaneously defend Austria against Hitler Germany. They would, however, secure the reverse. The return of the Hapsburgs would drive new supporters in Austria into the arms of the Nazis, would strengthen the position of Hitler in the neighboring countries, primarily in Jugoslavia, and would thus intensify the danger of war. Conservative politicians in Great Britain are plainly considering a repetition in Austria of the Greek experiment, *i.e.*, the linking up of the restoration of the dynasty with a few democratic concessions, squeezing out the influence of Italy and obtaining points of support for Great Britain in Central Europe. It is no chance that the Hungarian legitimists are also making new moves. It is no chance that Goemboes considered it necessary to take a "vacation" at the very time when Starhemberg fell. The Hapsburgs, who are hated by the overwhelming majority of the people and represent a constant menace for the Little Entente countries, would always be a source of deep alarm, and would give Hitler the desired pretext for assuming the role of "liberator" of the Austrian people and using for his own purposes the unquenchable hatred of the broad masses of the people towards the jailers from among the old monarchy.

What is the attitude of the working class to the plans of Austrian and Hitler fascism? The working class is the most serious force, firmly welded by unity, in the fight for freedom, peace and the independence of Austria. This force, however, cannot at present develop freely, it cannot openly organize the struggle of the people for peace and for the independence of our country. The hatred of the workers is directly turned against the February butchers who killed and imprisoned our brothers, smashed the workers' organizations and trampled down the rights and liberties of the working class. It is true that hundreds of thousands of workers who were formerly members of the free trade unions are now in the "unified" trade unions, most of them having joined under pressure, but partly on the strength of the idea that it was necessary to utilize the existing legal trade union organizations for struggle. Nevertheless, all these workers have not the slightest sympathy for the present regime. But it would be incorrect to think that the working class has not been affected at all by the processes of development after the February battles. The workers have not reconciled themselves to the ruling system. They long to do away with it. But all kinds of illusions are arising in the course of the struggle against this system. Here and there, illusions of a reformist type have sprung up among the workers, all kinds of hopes that it will be possible to "democratize" fascism by peaceful methods, that it will be possible to squeeze the fascists gradually out of the leadership of the "caste state" and replace them by democrats. It must be borne in mind that after the overthrow of Starhemberg such sentiments have grown stronger, the more so since the government is plainly trying to carry out a sharp distinction between the Communists and the "revolutionary Socialists", on the one hand, and the Right Social-Democrats, on the other, and to come to terms with the reformists in some form or other.

In addition to these reformist illusions, there are illusions, especially among some of the workers in the Alpine districts, regarding the real nature and the aims of National-Socialism in Austria. Some of the workers who are far from being National-Socialists and who do not sympathize with Hitler, sometimes, in their just anger against the present regime, give way to the idea that nothing could be worse and that *anything* would be better than Austrian fascism, and therefore welcome *any* movement directed against it. The Austrian proletariat, which realizes that the present regime is intolerable and is trying to remove this regime to create a state in which the working people will rule, are not without a certain susceptibility to various illusions.

And among the revolutionary workers, there are sometimes comrades who are faithful to the cause of the working class, who do not understand that fascism has thrown the working class movement backwards, that the immediate task now is the struggle for a democratic republic. In this struggle for the overthrow of fascism, for democratic rights and liberties, the working class can and must win to its side its natural allies—the toilers of town and country.

The danger which threatens the independence of Austria from the side of Hitler, the danger of the restoration of the Hapsburgs, the outbreak of an open struggle between the Heimwehr and the clericals, the growth of indignation against the regime of exploitation and oppression, the instability of the political situation, *all put great tasks before the Communist Party, and open up wide possibilities.* The working class can rapidly become a decisive factor if it interferes actively in the development of events, if it takes *independent* action, and with the greatest determination openly present its demands in all factories and in all legal organizations. If the revolutionary workers tell the Christian workers in the trade unions and in the League of Liberation, the toiling peasants in the Peasant League, plainly and unmistakably of their readiness to defend the peace and independence of Austria, and fight together with them for democratic liberties, against Hitler and against Starhemberg, if they tell them of their readiness to join forces in building a barrier against the chiefs of the putschist gangs, they can thereby take the first step *on the path to the people's front.* In the fight against Hitler and the Austrian fascists, for peace and the independence of Austria. let the working class demand: "Give us freedom to carry on this struggle! Stop the persecution of those who fight for the freedom of the proletariat! Declare an amnesty for all anti-fascists, the boldest and most devoted defenders of peace and the independence of our country! Give us back freedom of organization, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press!" If the working class demands this insistently, stubbornly, and untiringly, it will be understood by all the toilers to whom the fate of Austria is dearer than the selfish interests of the grasping landlords and financial magnates, dearer than the "authoritarian" assumption of power by a clique of fascist clericals. Let the working class energetically declare: *"We have no need for the Hapsburgs, we need freedom to defend Austria against Hitler!"* Let it show its firm determination not to permit the restoration of the Hapsburgs. Let it display its irreconcilable hatred, its inflexible hostility to the bloodstained dynasty,

and it will be able to upset the plans of the monarchists and their international plots. *Neither Hitler nor Hapsburg*, for both mean doom for Austria. Hitler means starvation, slavery, terror, still worse oppression, still fiercer tyranny; Hitler means the end of the peaceful existence of Austria and the beginning of war. The Hapsburgs mean starvation, the consolidation of the present robber regime, the sharpening of the war danger, a pretext for Hitler to make a drive against Austria. Those who want to reduce our people to calamity and destroy our country are for Hitler or for the Hapsburgs. But those who want to save our people from the greatest calamity and our country from the most frightful yoke must defend Austria against both Hitler and the Hapsburgs.

The Communist Party of Austria fights against Hitler and the Hapsburgs. It fights for democratic rights and liberties for the workers and all the toilers, for a democratic people's government, for a democratic republic. The path indicated by the Communist Party leads not to the policy of class cooperation with the bourgeoisie—the policy which engendered fascism; not to a state in which the democrats *babble* and the fascists act, in which the democrats are dominant in parliament, while the fascists are so in the apparatus of the state. No, the path of the Communist Party leads to a democratic republic which liberates all the forces of the people for the defense of their rights and liberties, for the defense of this democratic republic from the fascist enemies of the people. The Communist Party fights to free the *whole* people, workers, peasants and all who toil.

At present the wide masses of the people who do not belong to our camp understand what they did not understand before the February battles, namely, that freedom for the working class guarantees freedom for the whole people, that the freedom of the whole people will perish if its backbone, the freedom of the working class, is broken. At present the peasants, handicraftsmen, office employees, and intellectuals see what they did not see before the February battles, namely, that the free organizations of the working class are the protective rampart without which all freedom for political or cultural activity will be swept away, that all public life will die if the liberty of the working class is destroyed. Only the struggle of the workers for their freedom, for the freedom of the people, for a democratic republic, means a serious and genuine struggle for peace and for the independence of Austria. And only if this struggle of the working class is supported by the peasants, handicraftsmen, non-manual workers and intellectuals who are plundered by finance capital, oppressed by Austrian fascism and threatened by Hitler, can it lead to the triumph of peace and ensure the independence of Austria.

The task is a formidable one, but the possibilities are also great. In order to utilize them the Communist Party will sweep away all the barriers that might isolate it from the masses of the people, will consistently prepare for the formation of a people's front against fascism, will rally all forces for the struggle for bread and peace, for a free and independent Austria, for a democratic people's government, for a democratic republic.

The Aggression of Japanese Imperialism in China

By T. SYAO

"AS FAR as the Far East is concerned, there can be no doubt that the *direct* blow is aimed at the Chinese people, although the fascist military clique of Japan is preparing for war against the Soviet Union and has an agreement with Berlin for such purpose. Japan has already occupied Manchuria and is now occupying one province of China after another."*

The situation in the Far East is becoming more and more tense. Japanese imperialism is provoking a series of collisions on the frontiers between the U.S.S.R. and Manchukuo, and between the Mongolian People's Republic and Manchukuo. In its preparations for a "big war" on the Asiatic continent, Japanese imperialism is directing its immediate blow at China, seizing one Chinese province after another.

A new page was opened in the history of the enslavement of China by Japan, on September 18, 1931. The seizure of three northeast provinces of China, of Manchuria, dates from this moment. Then came the turn of the province of Jehol.

The failure of Japanese imperialism in Shanghai in 1932 did not destroy its aggressiveness. With still greater force, it stretched out its tentacles to North China, to the northwestern provinces of China, towards Inner Mongolia. The activity of the Japanese imperialists increased in South China as well.

At the beginning of 1935, Hirota made a declaration about the "friendly policy" of Japan towards China. Meanwhile, the Japanese military clique was quietly preparing all the necessary conditions for the seizure of North China and miscalculated only in one point, namely, in the estimate it made of the powers of resistance of the Chinese people.

The Chinese authorities obediently carried out the demands of the Japanese militarists one after another. Throughout North China, the Kuomintang organizations were liquidated. The troops of General Yu Sueh-chung, which were not to the taste of the Japanese military clique, were evacuated from the province of Hopei. The Japanese became virtual masters of the Peiping-Mukden railway and extended their control to the Peiping-Suiyuan railway.

To get North China into their hands, the Japanese acted mainly by the method of establishing "autonomous" regimes. At the end of November, last year, the so-called autonomous, anti-Communist, government of Eastern Hopei was formed under the leadership of the Japanese

* G. Dimitroff, "The United Front of Struggle for Peace", see *The Communist International* No. 6, p. 719.

agent Yin Ju-keng. Simultaneously the Hopei-Chahar Political Council was formed, directed by General Sung Cheh-yuang, commander of the Twenty-Ninth Army. To all intents and purposes, neither of these two "regimes" is any longer under the power of Nanking. The "autonomous government" of Yin Ju-keng rapidly became a puppet of Japanese imperialism and was used first and foremost to make a breach in the refusal of China to recognize Manchukuo. The Japanese tool, Yin Ju-keng, who boasts of his knowledge of the Japanese language and his family ties with the Japanese (he is married to a Japanese woman), sent an official mission under Chih Chung-mu to Chang Chung-chang in the middle of April, this year, at the instructions of the Japanese, for the purpose of concluding an agreement between Manchukuo and Eastern Hopei. A similar mission will be sent to Japan. In other words, a part of North China, extremely important strategically, has become a colony of Japanese imperialism.

The autonomous, anti-Communist, government of Eastern Hopei, is occupied at present in forming an army of 20,000 men. According to Japanese plans, the army will consist of three divisions, to each of which two Japanese officers will be sent, with a further Japanese officer for each regiment. In each county in Eastern Hopei there are Japanese advisers. The Japanese imperialists are trying to prepare the ground for the inclusion of Eastern Hopei in Manchukuo, alloting the same role to the Hopei-Chahar Political Council as that now being played by the regime of Yin Ju-keng. In other words, their plan is calculated on gradually splitting away separate parts of North China.

The Hopei-Chahar Political Council under Sung Cheh-yuang is performing work which is of the utmost importance for Japanese imperialism, namely, it is preparing to hand over the province of Chahar and the western part of Hopei to Japanese imperialism. Not restricting itself to the activity of its agents, General Li Shou-sing, the "Mongol" Pso Shih-hai, etc., in Chahar, Japanese imperialism has established its agents in the shape of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, to take possession of the northwestern provinces of China, the control over which is of vast importance. Northwestern China is the key to Central China, because, by mastering the provinces of Shansi and Siuyuan, the Japanese forces hang as a menace over the eastern districts of the Yangtze valley, threatened to come out right in the rear of Central China.

The strategic plan of the Japanese general staff, namely, to cut the Trans-Siberian Railway in the neighborhood of Chita, requires an attack on the borders of the Mongolian People's Republic with a view to cutting across its northeastern part. To achieve this, however, Japan needs to form a more or less firm base in Northwest China, resting on the provinces of Chahar, Suiyuan and Shansi.

The Hopei-Chahar Political Council is carrying out a very important task for Japanese imperialism. Long since, starting with the year 1915 (the notorious 21 demands which were presented by Japan to China), Japan has sought the right to build a new railway line joining the coast of North China with the northwest. This demand has been repeatedly advanced in Japanese-Chinese negotiations. The Japanese insisted on

connecting the Tientsin-Pukow Railway and the Peiping-Hankow Railway by a new line stretching from east to west, to the City of Taiyuan, the capital of Shansi, *i.e.*, into the very heart of Northwest China. According to Japanese plans, this line should run parallel to the Peiping-Tientsin section of the Peiping-Mukden Railway. The Chinese authorities have hitherto by all means in their power avoided granting this demand but now the Hopei-Chahar Political Council has satisfied Japanese imperialism on this question as well. A secret agreement was made between General Sung Cheh-Yuang, president of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, and Major-General Tada, commander of the Japanese troops in North China. Following this, Sung Cheh-Yuang increased his repression against the anti-Japanese movement in China.

The managing board of the South Manchurian Railway intends to carry out great plans for strategic railway construction in North China. Surveying work is already being carried on for the building of a railway line from Changchow to Shihchachuan, which will unite the Tientsin-Pukow and the Peiping-Hankow Railways. According to the plans of the South Manchurian Railway, the Peiping-Suiyuan line must be continued to Ninghsia, the capital of Ninghsia province. In addition to this, it is proposed to build a new railway line from Peiping to Chengteh, the capital of the province of Jehol that was united by the Japanese to Manchukuo. This railway will cross the Great Chinese Wall through the Kupeikow passage.

Of great importance for the advance of the Japanese into the northwest provinces is the proposed extension of the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway from the terminal point at Patow further in a westerly direction to Wuyuan, and according to other plans, to Ninghsia. The arrival of a Japanese squadron of 60 to 65 vessels at the port of Tsintao, at the gates of the province of Shantung, *i.e.*, the district governed by the provincial government of General Hang Fu-chu, was a demonstration intended to put pressure on the Shantung authorities and to get possession of this province, for Shantung is the key to Nanking and Shanghai. It has long been the dream of Japanese imperialism to build a new strategic line in Shantung which would connect Tsintao directly with the town of Hsichow, which lies at the point where the Tientsin-Pukow and Lung-Hai Railways intersect. It is proposed to build this line from a point lying nearer to Tsintao directly to Hsuchow, and this will greatly shorten the distance between Tsintao and Nanking, and make it possible for the Japanese military clique to transfer troops rapidly to Nanking.

Japanese advisers and officers in the north of China have repeatedly visited General Yen Shih-shang, categorically demanding joining action with the Shansi and Nanking troops against the Chinese Red Army in Shansi. The position of General Yen Shih-shang is determined by his efforts to protect his territory, power and income from the attacks of Nanking, and also by his efforts to clear his province of Reds, whose pressure has tremendously increased lately. The Japanese press emphasizes the helplessness of the Chinese authorities, and is more and more insistently demanding a Chinese-Japanese alliance against the Reds.

At the same time, Eastern Hopei has been converted into a wide gate-

way through which Japanese goods can be smuggled without paying customs duties. Japanese smuggling has swept in a wide flood into the dominions of Yin Ju-keng and thence into the other parts of North China and Northwestern China. The smuggling of Japanese goods into North China and their further penetration to the south have attained tremendous measures. Every day, five to ten Japanese ships arrive at the port of Peitaiho (district of Yin Ju-keng) and unload contraband goods. On the average, 700 tons of contraband goods are sent daily along the Peiping-Mukden railway from Shanghaikuan to Tientsin. According to the figures of the Chinese customs, contraband to the value of 211,-000,000 Chinese dollars was brought, in 1935, into China through Tientsin and Tsinhuanztao, and to the value of 100,000,000 Chinese dollars in the first three months of 1936. During the last few months, goods brought in contraband formed one-third of the total Chinese imports. This has aroused great alarm in those foreign circles whose economic interests have been seriously injured by Japanese smuggling. It is not only a question of the sharp fall in the income of the Tientsin customs and the penetration of Japanese goods duty-free into the provinces of North China. The fact is that Japanese duty-free goods are flowing into Central China and are seriously competing with British and American goods.

But North and Northwest China, for Japanese imperialism, are not only a military base and a market, but also a most important source of raw materials and foodstuffs.

The northern provinces, with a population of 90,000,000 to 100,-000,000 are rich in coal, iron, oil, tin and copper. In the province of Hopei there are extremely favorable conditions for the growing of cotton, which Japan has to import annually (mainly from the U.S.A. and India) to the sum of hundreds of millions of yen.

According to some estimates, about 70 per cent of the total coal seams of China, which are calculated to contain 250,000,000,000 tons, are concentrated in North China. The province of Shansi alone, according to the latest Japanese figures, contains half the coal reserves of the country. There are coal seams in Hopei, Shantung, Chahar and Suiyuan.

All this tremendous wealth of coal, said one of the March issues of the *China Weekly Review*, will come into the monopoly possession of Japan in the near future. The recently formed Japanese-Chinese company, Hsinchung (New China) is the agency through which these plans are being carried out. The president of the Japanese Sindzi Sogo Company recently arrived in North China to conduct negotiations with the local authorities on the question of Japanese-Chinese economic cooperation, and, in particular, as regards the joint exploitation of the coal resources of North China. General Yen Shih-shang is also negotiating with this company for "help in exploiting the coal mines in the provinces of Shansi and Suiyuan". Japanese capital is already in control of six coal companies in North China—five in Hopei and one in Shantung. The Japanese are gradually closing in on the so-called mixed Anglo-Chinese coal company, particularly the Haidan mines, which produce 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 tons of coal annually, and the coal mines of Mentaokou (Hopei) which have an output of 300,000 tons of coal per annum.

The Kailan mining company, situated in the region of the demilitarized zone, is on the verge of bankruptcy, and Japanese agents are already negotiating for the purchase of these mines.

As Japanese capital is beginning to penetrate into all branches of economic life in North China, which is virtually under the control of the Japanese military clique, then, according to the *China Weekly Review*, Japan will in the near future take complete control over the chief coal-fields of North China, *i.e.*, over 70 per cent of the coal of all China. When Japan becomes the monopolist in the coal market of China, writes the magazine, it will be able to exert great influence over all the industry of China and its transport.

The province of Chahar is particularly rich in iron ore, where 40 per cent of the iron ore of China is concentrated.

Various subsidiary trusts of the South Manchurian Railway in Tientsin are now engaged in investigating the mineral wealth of North China. The Tientsin branch of the South Manchurian Railway has sent a special group of engineers, technicians and geologists to make a survey of Hopei.

There are big beds of oil in the province of Shansi. There are also seams of aluminum ore, asbestos, limestone, etc., in the same province.

Considerable activity is being shown by the so-called Hopei Committee for the Development of Cotton Growing, which is an important instrument for the economic enslavement of the peasantry of Hopei. Japanese agents, taking advantage of the frightful impoverishment of the Chinese peasants, are urging them to cultivate cotton, giving them small credits on oppressive conditions (in the first quarter of 1936, Japan imported from Hopei 44,362 piculs of cotton as against 10,824 piculs in the first quarter of 1935). The big Japanese textile companies, the Kinegafutsi Spinning, Dainihon Spinning and Futsun Spinning, are drawing up plans for the further development of cotton cultivation and the building of textile factories in North China, particularly in Tientsin, and are buying up Chinese textile factories. Thus, in March, 1936, the Japanese textiles companies bought three Chinese mills in Tientsin, the Yuan, Paochen and Peiyang, after which only two small textile factories in Tientsin remain in Chinese hands. In April, the Japanese bought 20 mu of land on the Belgian concession in Tientsin for the construction of a new textile mill.

The Japanese military clique are preparing to make a new military advance in North China. At present, they are building barracks in Tientsin to accommodate 15,000 soldiers. In Tientsin, they are building a new extensive aerodrome, to be ready in two months. Warehouses and other buildings are being built. Similar military preparations are being made in Chahar, on the borders of Suiyuan, in Tsintao, in Peiping. In short, Japanese imperialism is preparing to seize the whole of northern and northwestern China—an enormous and rich territory.

The occupation of North China is practically in its last stages. On May 14, new detachments of the Japanese army began to enter Tientsin, Peiping and Tunchow. The first to arrive to Tsinhuanztao were four transports with troops of the Fifth Division, and artillery.

The Boxer Protocol (1901) permitted the Japanese to keep 800 soldiers in the district around Tanshan. But thousands of Japanese soldiers are arriving in North China, occupying its main political, administrative and strategic points.

The occupation of North China is undoubtedly a new phase in the development of the Japanese advance into China. The tacit consent of the Nanking authorities has shown the whole country the helplessness and unwillingness of the latter to offer resistance to the enslavers of the great Chinese nation. What is more, by setting up customs officers between the northern and central provinces of China, the Nanking government thereby gives its recognition to the seizure of North China. The lessons of March 7 were not lost on the Japanese imperialists. The Boxer Protocol is being given a wide interpretation by them. American and British circles in China are indignant at the violation of the Boxer Protocol. It is unanimously stressed in American circles that the annexation of Ethiopia has served as an impulse for the rapid seizure of new provinces of China by the Japanese imperialists. The mailed fist is descending once more on the heads of the Chinese people with still greater force than before.

The Nanking authorities are giving full proof of their capitulation. The Chinese people are gathering their forces for powerful national defense.

* * *

In its efforts to convert the whole of China into its colony and monopolize the exploitation of its wealth, and to crowd out British and American capital, Japanese imperialism is systematically increasing its activity in the Yangtze Valley and in South China. The gates to the Yangtze—the port of Shanghai with a population of 3,500,000 and a tremendous trade turnover—have become the starting point of Japanese penetration into the central provinces of China. Having seized part of the Chinese territory in the district of Hungkow along the River Huangpu, and holding monopoly control over the northern part of the International Settlement in Shanghai, the Japanese are exerting every effort to extend their control to the whole of the International Settlement. In the districts of Yantsehpu and Honkiu adjoining the River Huangpu, the Japanese are forming their bases, buying plots of land and factories and clearing sites for aerodromes. The regular garrison of 2,000 marines, stationed in concrete barracks at the boundary of Yantsehpu and Honkiu, is supplemented by the thousands of Japanese reservists, from among whom, "in case of necessity", detachments of Japanese troops will rapidly be formed.

Japanese activity has of late considerably increased in South China. The province of Fukien has been chosen by the Japanese as the starting point for penetrating into South China. The preparations for the seizure of Fukien constitute a menace not only for China but for the whole of the southeast of Asia, in particular for the British possessions of Hongkong and Singapore.

An "autonomous movement" is developing in Fukien after the pattern

of the "autonomous" movement in North China. Preparations are being made to form a Fukien "government" after the type of that in Eastern Hopei. With this aim in view, many Japanese agents are being sent from Formosa to Fukien. A so-called society for the development of autonomy in Fukien has been formed, the headquarters of which are on the Island of Kulansu opposite Amoy. At the head of the society is a certain Formosan, Kaoiyi, and his assistant is a Chinese named Yang Hang-lieh, who is connected with the capitalists and landlords of Formosa. In addition, a number of other pro-Japanese organizations have been formed, such as the Chinese-Japanese Association of Friendship, the Pan-Asiatic League, the Amoy-Ulansu Club, etc. The recent conference of all these "autonomous" organizations elected a central council of the "autonomous movement" in Fukien.

In the middle of February, 1936, large consignments of arms and military supplies were sent to the counties of Fukien, Antsi, Tehua and Hueian. There is a particularly strong development of the "autonomous" movement in these counties. A feverish trade in arms, military supplies and contraband Japanese goods is going on in the counties of Tsintsyan, Panyan and Yungchung. Last autumn, many Japanese and Formosan "runners" were sent to the north of the Kwantung province, particularly to the district of Swatow, and to the southern counties of Fukien, especially the county of Chaoan. A big pro-Japanese organization was formed in the north of the province of Kwangtung and in Swatow county. In these districts, the Japanese are trying to form a so-called "autonomous army". On March 10, the Chinese press stated that the Japanese together with their Chinese agents, held a conference on March 1 in Amoy. It was decided at this conference to prepare for the formation of the Fukien "autonomous" government, having previously set up a Fukien People's Administrative Committee with a South Fukien People's Army. Parallel to the formation of separatist organs, the Japanese are increasing their pressure on the Fukien provincial authorities, who have lately become obedient servants doing the will of Japanese imperialism. General Cheng Yi, president of the Fukien provincial government, is well known as a supporter of Japan.

On December 26, last year, at the invitation of the government, 27 Japanese engineers arrived in Fukien to make a general inspection of all mines, railways, electric power stations and other enterprises in Fukien. From December 20 to the middle of January, this "delegation of engineers" went around nine counties. They investigated the chief points of the shore, although this "work" had been done earlier by the Japanese navy, which feels thoroughly at home in Fukien harbors. The Japanese navy pays special attention to Fukien.

Not content with the establishment of naval bases on Formosa and its growing influence in the Philippines (particularly in the district of Davao), Japanese imperialism is trying to establish a supplementary base on the mainland, selecting for this purpose the most suitable district, namely, the Fukien province. In addition to having many natural harbors and convenient inlets, which give the Japanese navy a number of strategic advantages, one of the decisive circumstances governing the selection of

this base for further penetration southwards is its closeness to the countries of the southern seas. The Japanese have converted the islands of Shandu and Tsimow, which lie between Formosa and Amoy, into their naval base. A number of aerodromes built in Formosa make it possible for Japanese naval aviation to reach the shores of Fukien in a very short time.

The arrival of a Japanese fleet of 70 ships in the ports of Fukien will probably serve as a signal for a further development of the so-called "autonomous" pro-Japanese movement, and will undoubtedly be connected with active efforts of the Japanese to give official form to the separatist "regimes" in Fukien and in the north of Kwangtung. These "autonomous" regimes are being alloted the same role as that given to the Hopei-Chahar Political Council and the Eastern Hopei autonomous regime of Yin Ju-keng. The task of the northern "autonomous" governments is to tear the five provinces of Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shansi and Shantung away from China, and to create the conditions necessary for a Japanese attack on Northwest China. In Fukien, also, the aim of the "autonomous" regimes is to tear South Chinese territory away from the rest of China and prepare the conditions for the seizure of the whole of South China by the Japanese, and to convert it into a Japanese military base against the countries of the South Seas, in other words, against Great Britain and against the Dutch East Indies.

As in the north, the increase in Japanese activity in Fukien is accompanied by a tremendous increase in contraband. Japanese goods that have not paid duty are imported mainly from Formosa. Sugar, paraffin, petrol, matches, paper, haberdashery and textiles, etc., everything that is sold at a very low price along the whole shore of Fukien, are all Japanese contraband. During the whole of last year, the Chinese press has been full of reports of the so-called incidents in connection with the miserable attempts of the Chinese customs authorities to collect duties on Japanese goods. These attempts usually end in a conflict, as the result of which the Japanese consulates send sharp protests to the local Chinese authorities. The matter usually ends in favor of the Japanese or Formosan merchants. But there are other "incidents" which have a deeper provocative aim, and which provide the "justification" for increased Japanese activity. It is universally known that as the result of the murder of a Japanese policeman in Swatow, the Japanese secured the "right" to keep their own police in Swatow and to have their warships constantly in this harbor. This murder, however, was organized by Japanese agents, who shot one of their own policemen who was dying of tuberculosis.

By strengthening their position to the north of Kwantung province, in Swatow, the Japanese imperialists thus create a menace to the provinces of Kwantung and Kwangsi, *i.e.*, the southwestern political group led by Hu Han-ming, Chow Lu and others.

The Shanghai *Voice of China* in an article dealing with the situation in Fukien writes that the Japanese are spending at least 60,000,000 Chinese dollars a month in this province, for "reconnoitering purposes" alone.

"Day by day", it states, "the situation in Fukien is growing more critical. It is becoming more and more evident that this new Japanese activity is aimed at dividing up China. The Japanese are organizing 'autonomy', an 'autonomous army' and contraband in Fukien. They are buying up mines and land sites. They are bribing traitors. They are surveying the South Chinese coast, photographing the ports, making maps of the inner districts of Fukien, in preparation for the seizure of this province. Japanese imperialism is meeting with negligible resistance from the Chinese authorities. The tragedy of North China is being repeated now in the south."

Japanese aggression in South China is causing serious alarm in Great Britain.

A Chinese weekly, *Unceasing Life*, published an article on Japanese activity in South China, in which it stated that:

"A number of facts go to show that Japanese aggression aims at securing the mastery over the whole of China. The harm to British interests in the north of China and Manchuria is very considerable. Great Britain is now greatly alarmed at the increasing activity of Japan in South China."

The author quotes a number of facts showing the increase in Japanese activity in South China.

"Amoy, the most important commercial port in the province of Fukien, has become the center of Japanese penetration. After the so-called Fukien economic mission visited Formosa last year, it became known that an agreement had been concluded between the Japanese authorities in Formosa and the Fukien provincial authorities, according to which a loan is to be granted on the security of the coal mines of five counties in the southern part of Fukien. The various conflicts connected with the import of Japanese rice into Swatow, and other incidents between Japan and China call to mind the numerous conflicts which preceded the occupation of Manchuria in 1931. The aim of all these conflicts is to bring about a great sharpening of relations as a pretext for the occupation of Chinese territory. The visits of Japanese generals to South China, especially the arrival of Generals Mazsu and Sakamoto, are of great political importance. At the last conference of Japanese consuls in South China at the end of 1935, a decision was made to increase Japanese economic penetration into South China. It was also decided to open up large numbers of Japanese navigation lines and increase the dumping of Japanese goods. Japanese bankers and economic missions are making ever more frequent visits to South China. The fall in Hongkong trade is to a considerable degree the results of Japanese competition. According to customs statistics, the percentage of imports into China from Hongkong as compared with the total Chinese imports was 1.17 in 1935 as against 2.86 in 1934. Even in Hongkong itself, British goods are meeting with serious competition from the Japanese. Over 80 per cent of the trade in woolen goods in Hongkong is in the hands of the Japanese. . . .

"The Japanese are actively at work in Formosa, carrying on a series of military works and preparations there, directed against Great Britain in Singapore and against other countries in the southern part of the Pacific. Regular air lines have been established between Formosa and Japan, and communication will be established in the course of this year between Japan and Siam. Japan is preparing its navy to blockade the coast of China in time of war. In February a decision was made in Japan to send a third aviation unit to Formosa to strengthen the position of Japan in this part of the Pacific. Not long ago a squadron of four submarines was sent to Formosa. The construction of air-dromes continues. In July and August of this year, part of the Japanese navy will hold maneuvers between Formosa and the Chinese coast. Not less than 38 Japanese mine-layers will take part in the maneuvers."

Dealing with the position of Great Britain in South China and in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean, the author writes:

"The strength of the British troops in Singapore has lately been trebled. Several regiments will be sent to Hongkong in the near future. The British fleet will be strengthened in Hongkong. An aviation unit was recently organized in Hongkong. The British Minister of Aviation, we hear, has decided to give a subsidy of £1,500,000 for the development of airlines between Singapore, Hongkong and China. All this shows that Great Britain is prepared to defend its interests, not only economically but by military force.

"With such preparations being made in South China by Japan and Great Britain, it is evident that the situation in South China will become serious in the near future."

As far as Japanese imperialism is concerned, South China is not only a market but a jumping-off ground from which to make an advance into the countries of the South Seas.

Japanese imperialism is preparing for South China the same fate as that which has overtaken North China. The Japanese imperialists consider that the European powers have become so entangled in the complications of the recent events in Europe that no serious resistance to Japanese expansion to the south is to be expected from them. The tragedy of North China is being repeated in the South. The prologue has already been played in the shape of a chain of provocations and the beginning of a movement for "autonomy". The curtain has risen and the first act of the South Chinese tragedy has begun.

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In the North, the Hopei-Chahar Political Council is making an agreement with the Japanese military clique to conduct a joint struggle against the Reds, *i.e.*, is virtually inviting the Japanese invaders to "hold and rule" the Northern Chinese provinces. In the South, the Fukien authorities are ready for an agreement with the Japanese imperialists, but the latter prefer to make use of the services of the "autonomists".

The Japanese military clique is trying, by two decisive blows being energetically prepared in North China and in the Southwestern provinces, to bring about the complete enslavement of the great Chinese people and pave the way for the enslavement of other peoples in Asia. The threat of a new direct blow from Japan is patently hanging over the heads of the Chinese people. The latest events in Europe, the growing aggressiveness of German fascism, the tearing up of the Locarno Treaty, the violation of the Treaty of St. Germain, the driving ahead of the Italian offensive in Ethiopia will all be utilized by the Japanese militarists to deal a new blow at China.

The military fascist coup in Tokyo on February 26-29 brought nearer the fulfilment of these long prepared blows. The Japanese military clique, which swallowed up over half the Japanese budget in 1935-36, is hastening to undertake new adventures, to carry out new annexations. The elections to the lower chamber of Parliament in Japan on February 20 reflected the growth of anti-fascist sentiments in the country and hastened the activity of the military fascist clique. The rising discontent of the broad strata of the Japanese people at the policy of the fascist military clique is driving the latter speedily to undertake new action in the sphere of foreign annexations, to seek easy "victories" on the mainland, to try to raise a chauvinist wave around these "victories", to try to break the growing resistance of the Chinese people. The more strongly this resistance grows, the more difficult will it be for the military clique to drown the discontent of the people in Japan, the fight of the people against fascism and war, by sabre-rattling and shouts about new "victories" in China.

The Chinese people are gathering their forces to undertake a revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism. The concentration of the vanguard sections of the army of the Chinese people, namely, the Chinese Red Army, under the command of Mao Tse-tung, Hsu Hai-tung and Lu Tsi-tang in the districts of Northern Shansi and the Western part of Shansi, the entry of Red units into districts where the tentacles of Japanese imperialism stretch, will lead to the speedy consolidation of the forces of the anti-Japanese people's front, and create extremely favorable conditions for a united anti-Japanese people's front.

New events are rapidly moving ahead in China. Arita, the Japanese Foreign Minister, in a speech at the 69th Session of the Japanese Parliament, when he outlined his program, once more confirmed in a sufficiently determined form the Japanese demand that China accept the notorious three principles of Hirota.

The transfer of additional Japanese troops to Peiping and Tientsin has begun. The atmosphere is becoming heated. The anti-Japanese movement has gone far beyond the bounds of student demonstrations. The Chinese people demand of all their sons who bear arms that they turn them against the invaders, against those who are trying to convert China and its millions into an enslaved colony. This is why the influence, popularity and prestige of the Chinese Red Army are growing, an army which is calling on all other armies in China—the Kuomintang armies—to unite for the struggle against Japanese militarism.

The Southern Direction of Japanese Aggression

By J. BERRY

IN the well-known memorandum laid before the Mikado by Tanaka, former Prime Minister of Japan in 1927, it stated that the seizure of Manchuria and Mongolia was but the first step towards establishing Japanese rule over the whole of China, while the latter in turn would be the pre-condition for the preparation of war against the U.S.A., Great Britain and other countries for the conquest of the whole of Asia, the South Sea Islands and even Europe.

When the Tanaka Memorandum was published, certain circles greeted it with incredulity, for to many people the Japanese plans to dominate the whole world seemed to be fantastic, to say the least. But the events of recent years, namely, the seizure of Manchuria, Jehol and three provinces of Northern China, the preparations for the seizure of provinces in South China, Japan's departure from the Naval Conference in London, and finally the incessant acts of provocation carried through by the Japanese military clique on the borders of the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic go to prove that no small number of influential people in Japan are attempting to carry out Tanaka's plans.

As for the Japanese plans regarding the Soviet Far East and the Mongolian People's Republic, they are well enough known. Equally well-known are the Japanese plans for the conquest of North China. But far less is known of the plans for Japanese expansion southwards in the Pacific.

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The Japanese warmongers are openly justifying the need for these aggressive plans, giving them wide publicity and carrying on frantic preparations to carry them into practice.

In 1933, Senior Lieutenant Ishimaru of the Japanese Navy published a voluminous "work" entitled *The Inevitability of an Anglo-Japanese War*, in which he used the following words: "Vital though Manchuria is to Japan, Japan's path does not only lie in this direction."

Admiral Takahashi, commander of a combined squadron of the Japanese navy, openly declared at the end of 1935 and in March, 1936, that:

> "Japanese expansion abroad should stop at Manchuria and be directed southwards. The base for this expansion should be either the Island of Formosa or the mandated islands. In this case, the radius of action of the Japanese navy must be extended as far as New Guinea, Borneo and the Celebes Islands."

The only "correction" to this statement of Takahashi's was made by

Nagano, the present Naval Minister, but it consisted of the statement that expansion must also be continued . . . in a northerly direction.

In the January issue of the magazine *Daiyamondo* a fairly detailed account is given of the *economic* interests of Japan in the "South Sea countries". The journal makes clear what is meant by the somewhat indefinite term "South Sea countries". It includes French Indo-China, the British colonies on the Malacca Peninsula, Siam, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, British North Borneo, and also other small islands in the western, eastern and southern part of the Pacific Ocean. Other Japanese writers and public men, by the way, include in this term, British India, Ceylon, part of Australia and New Zealand. The countries described by the *Daiyamondo* magazine as "South Sea countries" have alone a population of 93,000,000 covering a territory of 3,800,000 square kilometers. The total capital investments there of imperialist countries amount to 3,600 million yen, of which 1,114 million yen fall to the share of Japan, 1,235 million yen to Great Britain and 1,315 million yen to Holland. Besides this, there were 35,000 Japanese residents in these countries on October 1, 1935. First place among Japanese investments is taken by rubber plantations, with a total capital investment of 150 million yen, and in this connection we cannot but note the fact that the Japanese have leased enormous tracts of land for rubber plantations, but in reality these territories are very little used for their direct purpose. The total area leased for these plantations amounts to 518,300 acres, but even according to Japanese statistics, actual plantings only cover 95,870 acres. The divergence is still more striking if the districts are taken separately. In Sumatra, for example, 291,000 acres have been leased, while less than 17,000 acres have been planted; in Dutch Borneo, out of 46,000 acres of land leased, only 7,800 acres are actually under crops; of a total of 43,000 acres leased in Java, only 3,500 acres are cultivated. It is sufficient to call to mind the news published in the press throughout the world to the effect that the Japanese employees working on these leased territories are more like naval officers than planters, and that the cultivated areas are more like airdromes than land prepared for plantations, for this startling divergence between the amount of territory leased and the land area cultivated to leave nobody in any doubt whatsoever as to its meaning.

Another sphere of Japanese capital investment is the cultivation of manila hemp. There are 48,000 acres of land cultivated as Japanese concessions in the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies and British North Borneo, of which 40,000 acres are in the Philippines. According to figures quoted in the *Daiyamondo* magazine, 70 per cent of the total output of manila hemp in the district of Davao comes from Japanese plantations, while 30 per cent of the total production of manila hemp in the Philippine Islands comes from Japanese plantations. The total Japanese investments in these plantations amount to 40 million pesos. The Japanese monopoly over the production of manila hemp in the island of Mindanao is regarded by the journal as the chief cause of the recent anti-Japanese measures taken by the authorities in the Philippines.

In the Dutch East Indies and British North Borneo, Japanese are

owners of considerable areas planted under aloes and other local fibre-producing plants. In the Philippines, Japanese have leased large tracts of land for the growing of coconut palms. In 1934, the actual area planted was about 38,000 acres. The center of production is the same district of Davao on the Island of Mindanao. In 1934, the Japanese plantations produced 60 per cent of all the coconuts in the South Sea countries. In Sumatra, the Japanese Nomura trust has leased about 130,000 acres on which to grow palms for the production of palm oil (a product, by the way, necessary for aviation). There are similar palm plantations in Java, the Celebes, and other islands, on territories leased by Japanese companies. During recent years, Japanese companies have been energetically occupied in exploiting the forest resources of the Philippines and Borneo, and have obtained a forest area of half a million acres.

The mineral wealth of these countries is of special importance for Japan. In 1934, the Japanese mines in the Malay Islands produced 930,000 tons of iron ore, or 61 per cent of the total iron ore imported into Japan. The majority of the iron mines belong to the Ishihara company, which also owns a number of copper and tin mines in the Malay Islands. The big Japanese Mitsui trust, together with the Nihon Sekiyu oil company have leased a considerable area of oil bearing lands in Dutch Borneo, where, in addition to oil being bored, the energetic construction of airdromes is taking place.

Finally, Japanese fishing vessels operate in the coastal waters of the South Sea Islands, having numerous bases in the Celebes, Mindanao, Buton and Amboina. It follows as a matter of course that in addition to catching fish these vessels are busily occupied studying the future theatre of war operations of the Japanese navy.

The role of the South Sea countries is particularly great in Japanese foreign trade. In 1929, they took 19 per cent of the exports from Japan; in 1932, 28 per cent; and in 1934, 28.5 per cent. The corresponding figures as regards imports were 26 per cent, 24 per cent and 31.5 per cent. In 1934, Japan took 7.7 per cent of the exports from the Dutch East Indies and supplied nearly 32 per cent of the imports; the corresponding figures for Siam were 3 per cent and 16 per cent, for British India 16 per cent and 16 per cent, for the Philippines, 4 per cent and 15 per cent, for Australia, 12 per cent and 6.5 per cent, and for the Malay States, 9.5 per cent and 8 per cent. Forty-four per cent of the total Japanese cotton exports and 56 per cent of the artificial silk exports in 1935 went to the South Sea countries.

Japanese steamship companies are also showing great activity in a southern direction. In addition to the present lines linking Japan with the Philippines, Hongkong, Singapore and the Dutch East Indies, new lines have recently been opened rapidly one after the other, connecting Japan with Australia and New Zealand. For example, the Yamasita Steamship Company has already opened a regular freight and passenger line between the ports of Japan and the ports of New Zealand. The big Japanese Osaka Siosen Kaisha steamship company intends to follow this example in the near future. In March, 1936, a new steamship line was opened between Japan and Australian ports by the big Nippon Yusen

Kaisha steamship company. Finally, the Nanyo Kaiun Kaisha company is extending its Japan-Java steamship line to Singapore, announcing that this is only the first step towards penetrating into the southern part of the Pacific and into the Indian Ocean.

In order to encourage penetration to the south, the government bodies of Japan, particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Colonies, together with the interested circles of finance capital, are organizing a whole series of international companies to support and develop Japanese commercial relations with these countries, and at the same time, with the aid of government subsidies, are forming companies for the "economic development" of these countries. A Japan-Australia company and a Japan-Siam company have already been organized, and preparations are under way for the formation of a Japan-New Zealand Company. At the end of 1935, the Japanese government with a view to encouraging penetration southwards decided to organize a special "Company for the Economic Development of Formosa" with the intention of later forming a subsidiary company, the Nanyo Taku (Company for the Economic Development of South Sea Countries). The Ministry of Colonies, together with the Governor-General of Formosa, have drawn up a "ten-year plan" of work for a Formosa Company, taking into account as well the activity of the future Nanyo Taku. The Formosa Company is being organized with a capital of thirty million yen, of which one-third is provided by the Governor-General of Formosa, one-third by the Eastern Colonial company, the Totaku, and various sugar companies, the remaining third to be floated among the public. The government has guaranteed an annual dividend of six per cent for the company. According to the Japanese press, the company will "study the natural wealth and possibilities for exploiting them, with the aid of Japanese capital, in South China, French Indo-China, Siam, the Philippines, Borneo, Java, the Celebes, Sumatra, etc. . . ."

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How great is the appetite of Japanese imperialism in the South Sea countries was shown with the greatest clearness by Katsuzo Inahara, Secretary of the Japanese International Affairs' Association in the magazine *Kaizo*, in June, 1935, when he wrote that:

> "The South Sea Countries, which provide such brilliant prospects for the economic development of Japan, occupy two-sevenths of the land surface of the globe, and their territory is over ten times larger than that of Japan and its colonies together. The population of these countries is 110,000,000, with a density of population amounting to 29 persons per square kilometer. Were the density of population the same as in Japan, the land of the South Sea Countries could be occupied by about 800,000,000 people even if half of it remained uncultivated."

And further:

> "The South Sea Countries produce 85 per cent of the world's rubber, 97 per cent of the manila hemp, 70 per cent of the copra,

60 per cent of the tin, 95 per cent of the quinine, 70 per cent of the pepper, 50 per cent of the teak wood used for ship building and 50 per cent of the rice. These countries produce only 3 per cent of the world output of oil, but this percentage is no indication of the supplies hidden in the bowels of the earth in these countries, so rich in their natural resources. . . . The annual exports from these countries amount to about 3,000 million yen, and the imports to 2,600 million yen. The favorable trade balance is 400 million yen, but during the prosperity period before the crisis, the favorable trade balance of these countries amounted to 2,000 million yen, a sum almost equal to the total annual exports from Japan!"

Noting how poor Japan is as regards raw materials and how it constantly has an unfavorable trade balance, Inahara energetically calls for attention to be paid to the "*importance for Japan of the South Sea Countries*". And, by the way, to back up his plans he brings forward one other argument, which is not without interest.

"While Japan meets in the North with the powerful U.S.S.R., there is no powerful country in the South which could prevent Japanese efforts in this direction."

Another propagandist of the idea of the southern direction of Japanese expansion, Shionosuke Yada, director of the Society for the Study of Siam, sharply criticizes the leading circles of Japanese imperialism for underestimating the importance of expansion southwards. In a lecture at a meeting of members of the Toyo Kiokai society, held on June 5, 1935, he stated:

"Japanese economic expansion northwards is of very great importance, but Japan must follow the policy of expansion southwards with more energy than hitherto, if it wishes to reach real heights of economic development. . . . The situation in the North is such that many years will pass before Japanese capital investments give returns in the form of commodities and profits. At the same time, capital investments in the South Sea Countries mean immediate profits, the immediate receipt of products required by Japanese economy. The world situation is constantly changing, and it is therefore *a big question as to how long Holland can keep the Dutch East Indies in its hands*, territories which are sixty times as large as Holland itself. In the same way *it is not known how long India will remain under British rule.* If we take these things into consideration, we become more and more convinced that *the true path for the economic development of Japan lies only in the southern direction.* Japan must begin its expansion to the South *immediately*, without losing a single minute."

Inahara, in an article, insists still more strongly on *immediate* expansion to the South:

"It is an indisputable fact that *the other powers regard Japanese expansion to the South Sea Countries as inevitable.* Immediately after the World War of 1914-18, Holland, fearing Japanese penetration into the Dutch East Indies, requested the

Japanese government to refrain from such attempts. This step was evidently taken by the Dutch government owing to the nervousness inherent in all *nations on the downgrade*, and at the same time once more confirms the fact that *the penetration of Japan into the South Sea Countries is accepted as an axiom by the countries interested in this region.*"

There is no need to say that all these arguments as to the importance of Japanese expansion southwards are very much interspersed with the "ideological" arguments, without which, as history has shown, Japanese imperialism cannot take even the most brazen step.

To justify his policy of plunder, Inahara points to the inadequate territory at the disposal of Japan and to its overpopulation. The absurdity of this argument is well known. It may be recalled, in passing, that at a comparatively recent date, in 1927, the Marquis Komura, (son of the well-known Japanese Foreign Minister) desiring to avoid a conflict with the U.S.A., published a reply to an article by the American journalist Mattison, who had tried to prove that the great increase in the population of Japan was a danger to peace in the Pacific. Komura wrote that Japan does not propose to solve the problem of overpopulation by means of immigration, and that the growth of the population of Japan cannot become a cause of war:

"There is a crowded population in the industrial center of Japan, but it would be a mistake to suppose that there is a big surplus population throughout the country. A small trip through the northern provinces would show anyone that these provinces are very sparsely populated, and that there is still very much territory on which people could live. It is self-evident that these tremendous areas of land remain uncultivated simply because of the insufficient application of labor power. . . . Consequently the import of foreign foodstuffs does not prove that the Japanese population has already grown to such a tremendous extent that the country cannot produce enough to feed the population *If foreign observers think that the rapid growth of population in our country is bound to lead to war in the long run, we must tell them that, to express it mildly, they are making a mistake. At any rate, such a suggestion is absolutely contrary to the real facts,* both in respect to our neighbors and in respect to the world in general."*

It is useless, however, to remind the Japanese war propagandists of this article by Komura. They know what they are doing and why they are doing it.

At the very height of the police persecution of the various Buddhist sects in Japan, and at the time when the government was conducting an intensified policy of direct support for *Shintoism*, in defiance of all constitutional principles as to "freedom of religion", Mr. Yada, the director of the Society for the Study of Siam, when advocating "friendship" between Japan and Siam, recalled that "both Siam and Japan are Buddhist countries", while Seigo Nakano, former leader of the Kokumin Domei, in an article on "The Tasks of Japan on the Asiatic Continent" which appeared in the *Jiyu Hioron* magazine, stated:

* *Japan Times*, Feb. 11, 1927.

"Manchuria has been liberated from the desires of the British and American imperialists. . . . In bringing about an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, *Japan must liberate India, Siam, Egypt and Yunnan from the British yoke.*"

It must not be thought that those who advocate the southern direction of Japanese aggression expect that other countries will "voluntarily" give up their possessions in the South Seas. The well-known Japanese military writer, Sinsaku Hirata, as far back as 1933, wrote in the February issue of the *Bungei Shunziu* magazine, that:

"Great Britain, 'bourgeois', 'exploiting', 'imperialist' [quotation marks by the author himself], Great Britain is the scoundrel that is seizing Asia. *The liberation of Asia will begin with a blow at Great Britain.* Such is the unanimous opinion of all the leaders of the fascist trend."

In the same year, 1933, Ishimaru, senior lieutenant of the Japanese navy, whom we mentioned above, wrote in his book *The Inevitability of an Anglo-Japanese War*, that:

"The interests of the two countries (*i.e.*, Japan and Great Britain) are such that the cause of war lies in the fact that there is no choice. Either Japan will have to stop its development *or Great Britain will have in a friendly manner to hand over some of that which it possesses or wants to possess.* . . . The divergence is so great that there it is not possible for the two countries to exist together economically and politically. *The final clash* can be delayed for a short time, but it is *inevitable.* The people of Great Britain and Japan must look facts in the face."

Ishimaru himself, by the way, insists on the Anglo-Japanese war being started as rapidly as possible, because, according to him, the most convenient moment for the "opening up of military operations by Japan" is the time "when the British fleet . . . is in greater part stationed in Europe. In this case, Japan will be able, by gradual operations, to alter the relation of forces to its own advantage. Hongkong and Singapore will most probably pass into our hands." On the contrary, "if we look at things from the British viewpoint, it is to their advantage to delay the moment of the outbreak of war". In advocating a war against Great Britain, Ishimaru calculates that if Japan is victorious,

". . . *India will be finally lost for Britain*, just as the Chinese market, *Australia and New Zealand will pass to Japan.* Britain is in the stage of decline, and an Anglo-Japanese war would lead to the destruction of Great Britain."

It is also realized in Japan that the seizure of China and the plans for aggression southwards are bound to lead to a sharp conflict between Japan and the U.S.A. What is more, all Japanese military writers as a rule make their starting point the view that if an Anglo-Japanese war takes place, the U.S.A. will most probably fight alongside Britain against Japan. The propaganda of the idea of war against the U.S.A. is there-

fore carried on on no smaller a scale than the propaganda of war against Britain, the more so because for this propaganda it is easy to utilize the old contradictions between Japan and the U.S.A. in the Far East, the Washington defeat of Japan in 1922, the prohibition of Japanese immigration into the U.S.A., and the last conflicts in Arizona and the Philippines over Japanese land ownership.

In his book *The Crisis of Isolated Japan*, Major Toyama wrote:

> "Behind the back of mutinous China stand Bandit America, capitalist Great Britain, and Bolshevik Soviet Russia. . . . At the present time, America has concentrated its naval forces almost entirely in the Pacific. The clouds have therefore grown darker in the Far East and, America, on the one hand, threatens Japan, and, on the other hand, is trying to obtain the good wishes of China. It is just this circumstance which may serve as the beginning of the next Manchurian incident, and lead to a Japanese-American war, the danger of which is particularly great."

Thus this army major even puts the U.S.A. in the first place as the opponent in the future war.

Another army officer, Lieutenant General Sato, published a book entitled *A Japanese-American War Is Near*, in which he says:

> "We shall not speak of America diplomatically as an imaginary opponent. No. *We resolutely declare that America is our manifest and direct enemy. We must look upon America as our decisive enemy.*"

But in most of the propagandist chauvinist literature, the campaign is conducted simultaneously against Great Britain and the U.S.A., which are united in the common category of "*The Anglo-Saxon Imperialisms*". In his book, *Will Japan Fight the U.S.S.R.?* which appeared in 1934, Uehara wrote that the present situation in the Far East

> ". . . recalls the situation of Germany before the European war. The motive for the outbreak of the European war was the greed of the Anglo-Saxon race, thirsting for world hegemony, and although the country which caused the war was Great Britain, the British government glossed over this truth by cunning diplomatic propaganda and converted Germany into the general enemy of the whole world. The tactics of the European powers and America towards Japan in connection with the Manchurian events were just the same. The example of Germany is a serious lesson for the Japanese people, and we should think over it deeply once again."

But, instead of drawing the conclusion from this that new war adventures are very hazardous for Japan, Uehara prefers to seek for allies with whose help it would be possible to undertake new adventures even if Great Britain and the U.S.A. were to undertake joint action against Japan. He refers to what Hirota (former Japanese Ambassador in Moscow, and now Prime Minister in Japan) said to one of his supporters while he was in Moscow:

"At the present time, if you want to maintain the superiority of your country *you must make a rapid move in the direction of coalition with Germany and Italy*, thus curbing Europe and thereby forming a firm foundation for the Emperor's policy in the Far East."

It is not known whether Hirota spoke of this, but Uehara's plans for bringing about a new world war are in any case set out with sufficient clearness.

These plans for setting alight the flames of a second world imperialist war find expression in an endless number of books and articles published in Japan.

Fuzita Ishimaru wrote a thick book in 1934 entitled *The War of Japan Against the Whole World.* The Japanese propagandists put their stake mainly on fascist Germany in the new world war. In his book entitled *How to Overcome the Crisis in the Pacific*, Ishimaru declared outright that:

"There are two storm centers in the world at present. One is in the Pacific, and the other is around the events in Europe, in connection with the advent of Hitler to power. These two low pressure zones are interconnected. If a storm begins in one place, it can easily spread to the other district and assume a world scale. For example, if the storm first bursts in Europe, and a second world war starts there, Soviet Russia is sure to be drawn into the maelstrom of war. In such a case, the question of Far Eastern Siberia will become a question of a Russo-Japanese struggle, so that these countries will probably, as a result, be forced to fight over it. This clash will, as time goes on, cause America to take part in the war on the side of Russia. Thus the European war will extend to the Pacific Ocean as well. If we suppose the other alternative, namely, that war begins first in the Pacific, then Great Britain and Russia will be forced sooner or later to throw themselves into the maelstrom of war, and as the result of their participation in a Pacific war, the equilibrium will be destroyed in Europe."

This statement once more confirms the point that Japan is only waiting for the moment when German fascism begins a war in Europe, to begin war itself in the Pacific. On the other hand, the aggressive circles of Japanese imperialism well understand that action by them frees the military aggression of fascist Germany. Unfortunately, not everyone in Europe clearly understands this. The Japanese war propagandists are quite openly raising the question that *Japan must do everything in its power to set alight the flames of war throughout the world.* For example, in the same book, *The War of Japan Against the Whole World,* Ishimaru comes to the conclusion that if Great Britain and America act together against Japan, the chances of the latter achieving victory will be very small. He therefore proposes "the only way out", namely,

". . . to bring about an eruption of the various national volcanoes throughout the world, so that a second world war will

> *thus take place.* During the last World War, the Germans did not succeed in this [as Ishimaru explains, they did not succeed in rousing India, Persia, etc., against Great Britain or the South American countries against the U.S.A.—*J.B.*] but in 1936, the situation through the world will differ sharply from the situation during the last war. *And this is Japan's good fortune.*"

We cannot but admit that the Japanese incendiaries of a new world war have outdone even the Hitlerites in plain speaking.

It is obvious that things are not simply limited to the economic penetration of Japan southwards and the propaganda of war against Great Britain and the U.S.A. Japanese imperialism is now already making practical preparations for this war and, first and foremost, is preparing a suitable military basis, one which is to play about the same role as was formerly played by the Kwantung region and the zone of the South Manchurian Railway in respect to the whole of Manchuria, and which Manchuria now plays in respect to North China and the Soviet Far East. But sea operations against the navies of Britain and America require that a complete and interconnected system of naval bases be established.

The chief outpost of the Japanese navy is the Island of Formosa, which is being energetically fortified. The naval berths there are being extended, new airdromes are being established facing the Chinese coast, etc. It is planned to strike from this point at the Philippines and Hongkong. Another outpost is the mandated islands, with the aid of which the Japanese navy cuts the American navy off from the Philippines and threatens Hawaii. A direct jumping-off ground from which to strike at British Hongkong is being formed in South China. For the last year and a half, Japan has been more and more frequently provoking regular "incidents" there, sending more and more of its warships to the ports of Fuchow, Amoy and Swatow on the occasion of every "incident".

But South China is too far from Great Britain's main center in the Far East—the Singapore Naval Base—at which Japan is preparing to strike the chief blow against Britain. Therefore, the main center from which the Japanese are preparing to launch military operations is in Siam. Siam is gradually beginning to play the role of Japan's main base in its penetration southwards. The geographical, strategic and political situation of Siam, from the Japanese point of view, is quite suitable for making Siam the central point of Japanese aggression in the southern part of the Pacific and striking a decisive blow at Britain. Siam forms a wedge between the colonies and spheres of influence of Great Britain and France, since it is situated between British Burma and French Indo-China, and also between the spheres of Anglo-French influence in South China. But Indo-China and Burma play a big political role for their European masters. Indo-China is the only Far Eastern possession of France that has reasonably good ports and potential naval bases.

As for the British possessions, *i.e.*, British Burma, the Malay States and British North Borneo, Siam divides them into two parts, cutting off the Singapore Naval Base from its rear—Burma. During the last few

years, Great Britain has done a tremendous amount of work in modernizing the Singapore base and strengthening its rear, but the country which possesses Siam or has overwhelming economic and political influence there, constitutes a simultaneous threat both to the Singapore base and its rear—Burma. The information which has appeared in the foreign press to the effect that Japan proposes to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Kra merely goes to confirm this, because the existence of such a canal would mean that Singapore would lose its significance as a stopper closing the exit from the Indian Ocean into the Pacific. The Berlin fascist papers, which are undoubtedly well-informed, recently reported that about 60,000 workers are already engaged digging this canal. This shows that the idea of the Kra Canal is by no means a myth, as many "authorities" recently supposed.

The most complete picture of the importance of Siam for Japan, and of its advantages as a base for "southern expansion" was given by the above-mentioned Yada, director of the Society for the Study of Siam, in his lecture to the Toyo Kiokai:

> "From the geographical, historical and economic point of view, Siam is of tremendous importance in respect to the carrying out of the aims of Japan in the South Sea Countries."

Yada makes a very interesting comparison between the importance of Siam and China for Japan:

> "Wide circles in Japan know very little about Siam, and therefore underestimate its importance. They are too careless in their estimate of Siam, because they do not know the direction in which the path for the further development for Japan lies. This situation may unhesitatingly be compared with the underestimation of Japanese policy towards China by the general public 20 years ago. Untalented diplomats were sent to China at that time, and they had no conception of the importance which China possessed and still possesses for the development of Japan. Such was the situation 20 years ago. Today the importance of China for Japan is recognized by everybody, and Japanese policy toward China is regarded as the backbone of Japanese diplomacy as a whole. I wish to emphasize as strongly as possible that the *underestimation of the importance of Siam is equivalent to the underestimation of China which existed twenty years ago.*"

Among all the "attractive" features of Siamese life, that which most deserves the attention of Japan, in the opinion of Yada, is the independence of Siam. On several occasions he repeats the point that "fortunately Siam still preserves its independence." For this very reason, in Yada's opinion, Japan has a chance of laying its hands on Siam. Yada, of course, at the same time persuades the British that British interests in Siam cannot be compared with British interests in India. But, writes Yada,

> ". . . even Great Britain displays great interest in this country, by sending very capable diplomats to Siam as advisors to

> the Siamese government, who cannot be compared with the worn out [!!!] Japanese advisors of the Siamese government."

While calling for the most careful consideration of the strength of British influence in Siam, and uttering the warning that "the old British lion is still strong", Yada states with deep satisfaction that *the present Siamese government is anti-British and anti-French.* For that matter, we should not doubt this, even without the recommendation of Mr. Yada, because, as is well known, it was not without Japanese participation that the change of government which took place in Siam last February led to the formation of a semi-military government consisting mostly of the supporters of Japan.

During recent years, the political, economic and cultural connections between Japan and Siam have grown considerably stronger. Japan supplies Siam with locomotives and cars for the Siamese railways, builds vessels for the navy and merchant fleet, and is organizing a branch of the Yokohama Specie Bank in Bangkok, Siamese military officers have come to Japan to study in Japanese military schools, while Siamese marines are sent to Japanese ships to undergo courses in navigation. There can be no doubt that when in the opinion of the Japanese military specialists the Siamese military base is sufficiently prepared, a new "Manchurian incident" will break out in the district of the South Sea Countries and not only in them, but it will have much more serious consequences than in 1931-32. The underestimation of this in Europe and America simply hastens the outbreak of a new world war.

In his article "The United Front of Struggle for Peace",* Comrade Dimitroff pointed out that

> "Japanese imperialism is striving by this means to subject all the peoples of Asia, including India, and to seize the Philippines and Australia. It is preparing for a decisive encounter with the United States and Great Britain."

The material quoted above shows how far Japanese imperialism has gone already in preparing to carry out its plundering aims. With cynical frankness, the Japanese military clique is disclosing how it calculates that the tenseness of the situation in Europe, created by Hitler Germany and fascist Italy, will make it possible to begin a new bloody slaughter without hindrance.

The task of all friends of peace is to expose the Japanese warmongers and face them with a powerful anti-imperialist front of the toiling masses in the dependent and colonial countries, a powerful people's front in the countries which are directly threatened by military-feudal Japanese imperialism.

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* See *The Communist International*, No. 6, p. 719.

Alexei Maxim Gorky

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of People's Commissars announce with deep sorrow that the great Russian writer, the gifted artist and steadfast friend of the toilers, the fighter for the victory of communism, Alexei Maxim Gorky, died on June 18, in Gorky near Moscow.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.S.U.
COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, U.S.S.R.

* * *

THE Executive Committee of the Communist International gives expression to the profound sorrow of the international proletariat and the millions of the toiling masses of all countries at the death of the greatest writer of the proletariat, Comrade Alexei Maxim Gorky. His life work, the work of a passionate fighter for socialist culture and the victory of communism, the genius of his creative activities, filled with revolutionary hatred against capitalist barbarity, inspired the toiling masses of the whole world and spurred them on in their struggle against fascism and the rule of capitalism, the struggle for freedom, peace and socialism.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

* * *

THE death of the greatest proletarian writer, Maxim Gorky, is an irreparable and heavy loss for the working people of the whole world, for the whole of humanity. The international proletariat, all the oppressed and exploited, have lost their true friend, their gifted poet and inspirer in the fight against capitalist slavery, against the sinister elements, against reaction and fascism, in the fight for bread, freedom, peace and socialism. They have lost him at a moment when they particularly need the artistic creative force of Gorky and when his never-failing blows at the class enemy are so necessary. Gorky's sublime name, his memory, are enshrined forever deep in the hearts of the working people of all countries, and will inspire them to further struggles until the final victory of socialism in the whole world. In this fight working people will, with the most profound gratitude, make use of the splendid literary wealth which this great man has bequeathed to them as the best and most valuable heritage.

GEORGI DIMITROFF

JOSE DIAZ

Leaders of the Spanish Proletariat

By L. SYLVIA

OCTOBER, 1934, in Spain. The armed battles in Asturias. Workers —Communists, Socialists and Anarchists—rose up in arms against the provocatory action of the government of Lerroux—Gil Robles, against the onslaught of fascism and against the attempts to set up a fascist dictatorship. They fought with unprecedented courage, but suffered defeat. The bourgeois-landlord-military clique represented by General Ochoa meted out the most severe punishment. Tens of thousands were shot and beheaded, 30,000 revolutionaries were flung into the jails, while hundreds sought refuge in the hills and abroad. During these bloody post-October days the Communist Party of Spain persistently explained to the Spanish proletariat that this was a temporary defeat and called for united action, for the establishment of a united proletarian front, for the establishment of a broad people's anti-fascist front.

When speaking of the experience of the armed struggle in Asturias, soon after the October battles, the Secretary of the Communist Party, Jose Diaz (Pepe) emphasized that:

> "We must not forget that in Asturias our brothers, our heroes, united their forces in the struggle and therefore were victorious, although for a short period. . . . Communists, Socialists and Anarchists fought shoulder to shoulder in Asturias, and if we want to be victorious throughout the entire country, we must bring about the united front, we must ensure the triumph of united action, we must ensure that workers' and peasants' alliances are formed and developed over the entire country so that they can lead the widest sections of the people in the struggle to bring about the destruction of reaction and fascism. If we do this, then I tell you that the time is not far off when we shall see how the present government, Gil Robles and all those who defend him, will have to seek safety in flight just as the bourgeoisie and the Asturian gendarmerie fled in fear of the united ranks of the armed toilers of Asturias."

Jose Diaz called on the Socialist Party, Young Socialist League, Anarchists, Syndicalists, and also the Left Republicans, called on all the mass organizations of the people of Spain who were prepared to struggle against fascism to unite their forces with the Communist Party for the establishment of "unity of the people against the fascists".

> "And so, comrades, force the leaders of your organizations to accept and fulfil your desires, and unity of the people against the fascists will immediately be brought about."

It was with exceptional simplicity and clarity that in his speech in Madrid the Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain developed the

program of the establishment of a people's front as a weapon of struggle against fascism. A mass of people, 15,000 strong, listened with rapt attention. The speech of Diaz made a great impression. Using simple words he pointed out to the toilers the path of their further struggle. This and other speeches made Jose Diaz near and dear to the masses. Many of his audience had formerly believed that there were no people, no leaders in the Communist Party, that it was a small party that could not find and advance leaders from its own ranks. Jose Diaz himself, with his exceptional modesty, did not push himself forward from among the remaining leaders of the Communist Party. At present the masses know Jose Diaz, and he is now known not only to the Communists, but to those Left workers who are coming ever closer to Communism, who are struggling to create a united revolutionary party of the proletariat.

Madrid. The beginning of 1935. Thousands of toilers of all political beliefs fill the streets. Amongst them is the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, Jose Diaz. The Madrid workers were accustomed to seeing him continually in their ranks, in the pre-October and post-October days. Their pet name for him is Pepe. And how surprised they would have been had Pepe not appeared on the streets today. But what about illegality? For had not the Communist Party been driven into illegality after the October defeat? Fearless of persecution, the revolutionary workers who have the support of the masses broke down the illegality.

Jose Diaz was very well aware that the police and fascists were carrying on a stubborn search for him after the October battles. But despite all this, despite the fact that he was trailed so severely he succeeded in reorganizing this work and the work of the leadership of the Party in such a way that during the entire illegal period the Central Committee of the Party not only did not cease to work but maintained regular connections with the Party organizations and gave them instructions. Diaz himself was in regular contact with the members of the Party. And when it was necessary he even found it possible to meet and talk with rank-and-file workers, with the workers of the lower Party organizations.

And today Jose Diaz is with the masses who came out on the streets at the call of the Communist Party to defend Dolores Ibarburi, their Pasionaria ("passionately devoted") as she is called by the widest sections of people in Spain.

The Communist Party of Spain called for the organization of the broadest people's front in defense of the imprisoned Asturian fighters. Pasionaria became the heart and soul of this struggle. She went to Asturias, which was dripping with blood but not broken, in order to organize aid for the comrades in jail and to arrange for the withdrawal from there of the children of the fallen fighters. Pasionaria was arrested. The masses arranged stormy street demonstrations, demanding the immediate liberation of Dolores. The government was forced to retreat. Comrade Dolores, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Spain, was liberated.

March, 1936. The day of the opening of the Spanish Parliament and

of the triumph of the broad people's front, which was victorious at the elections of February 16, 1936.

No matter how the reactionary elements among the leaders of Social-Democracy and the Anarcho-Syndicalists were opposed to it, the Spanish workers, following the initiative of the Communist Party, succeeded in establishing the movement of the People's Front, and in involving in it the peasants' and Left anti-fascist parties and organizations.

A tremendous role in bringing about the victory of the people's front was played by the decisions of the Seventh Comintern Congress and the report of Comrade Dimitroff at the Congress. On the basis of the decisions of the Seventh Congress, Jose Diaz explained to the toilers of Madrid, to the toilers of Spain that:

> "All the people are against fascism and its methods of domination. The moods of the masses are extremely militant, and herein lies the weakness of the reactionaries and fascists. But we must take account of the fact that these forces, these masses, are not united in a fighting united front, and therein lies the strength of our enemies and our weaknesses. Can we say that such a situation will not last very long? I hope, we all hope, that we can. We shall unite and be victorious."

And Pepe Diaz immediately outlined the position of the Communist Party in organizing the People's Front.

> "Our struggle is for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviets. We make this statement, since we, as a Party of the proletariat, do not give up our aims. But we understand that the immediate task now is not the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the development of the anti-fascist struggle. We must concentrate all our forces against the present anti-popular government, overthrow it, as quickly as possible, before it is too late. We must fight to secure the disbandment of the counter-revolutionary Cortes. And we must achieve the holding of elections, in which the united anti-fascist forces will participate, in order to ensure that they achieve victory over the forces of reaction and fascism. I repeat, the government will not leave by itself. We, the proletariat, we, anti-fascists, all of us together, must by our united struggle, overthrow it. And we will do so!"

In the recent election struggle of the anti-fascist People's Front, Jose Diaz was one of the best leaders of the Spanish workers who was able to rebuff the demagogy of Gil Robles about "our great Spain", and about "the national heritage of the Spanish people". He was able to explain to very wide masses of the people that what belongs to the fascists out of the heritage of the past is the Inquisition, the unheard-of brutality of the Spanish feudal lords and robber colonial wars, in which the flower of the Spanish people was sacrificed.

During the struggle for the setting up of the anti-fascist People's Front in connection with the elections, the Spanish workers and very wide masses of people discovered and valued the clear and convincing speech of Pepe Diaz, the stirring, absorbing words of Pasionaria. The

DOLORES IBARBURI

electors of Madrid sent Diaz to Parliament as their deputy, while the workers of Asturias elected Pasionaria. Diaz and Pasionaria belong to the group of seventeen Communist deputies in the Spanish Parliament.

Pepe Diaz and Pasionaria are the most popular members of Parliament. Jose Diaz is a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Pasionaria is a reserve member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The development of these two most popular leaders of the Communist Party and its parliamentary group is the development of the Communist Party of Spain itself.

* * *

Jose Diaz is a real son of the Spanish working class. At twelve years of age he was already working in a bakery. Diaz learned from his father, a baker, and his mother, a tobacco worker, of the harshness of capitalist exploitation, while yet in his cradle tasted deep poverty, and during childhood felt the full weight of wage labor tested on his yet undeveloped shoulders. The capitalist system roused a storm of indignation, wrath and hatred in the heart of the young worker, and stirred in him the will for struggle. From 1917 onwards Diaz gave all his strength to the organization and struggle of the workers of his native city, Seville. Diaz was always in the front ranks of all conflicts undertaken by the Seville workers against the employers and the authorities. His energy and loyalty to the interests of the workers, his knowledge of their needs, his ability to lead, won him great authority among the workers, and advanced him to the ranks of the outstanding trade union leaders in Seville.

But the growing worker-leader of the masses was not satisfied with the anarcho-syndicalism which predominated at that time among the workers of Seville. While organizing aid for revolutionaries who had fallen into the hands of the class enemy, Jose Diaz became connected with the International Labor Defense organization. And from 1925 onwards we see him an active member of the I.L.D., a rare exception for a leading official of an anarcho-syndicalist trade union. It was then that for the first time he found his way to Communist literature, for the first time he began to become acquainted with Communism and the Communist Party of Spain, and discovered the truth about the Soviet Union, about the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through the I.L.D., Diaz became connected with a number of active Communists in Spain. The idea of international proletarian solidarity, to which the I.L.D. was devoted, linked Diaz up with the Communists and brought him to the Communist Party of Spain.

Ridding himself, on the basis of his own experience, of the remnants of the old anarcho-syndicalist ideology, Jose Diaz more and more transferred the main weight of his work to the struggle for the Communist Party, for its mass policy. Officially he joined the Party in 1927 when the entire District Committee of the Communist Party of Andalusia was arrested, when he defended the Party organization in Seville from the

attempts of the class enemy first to deprive it of its leadership, and then destroy it.

Acting on the instructions of the comrades arrested, Jose Diaz succeeded, by working energetically in uniting the scattered forces of the Communists, in recruiting new forces and in forming a new District Committee of the Communist Party. The work carried on by Diaz at the head of the committee was so fruitful that at the next Andalusian Party Conference he was elected secretary of the Party organization. Under his leadership the Party organization in Seville gathered strength and became the generally recognized leader of the biggest battles fought by the workers of Seville.

In 1932, after the suppression of the general strike in Seville during which Jose Diaz led in the street fighting, the police succeeded in laying their hands on him. Diaz was sentenced to eighteen years' imprisonment. The workers of Seville demanded the liberation of Diaz, that he be let out on bail. Workers—Communists, Socialists, and Anarchists—raised the bail of 5,000 pesetas among themselves.

When Diaz was arrested during the election campaign of 1933 in Seville, the great indignation of the workers forced the authorities to release him. The name of Jose Diaz became the most popular name in Seville before and after the October battles. For the workers of Seville Jose Diaz is the embodiment of Communism.

Jose Diaz justified the love and trust of the Seville workers. His firmness and loyalty to the cause of the working class, to the Spanish revolution, were not broken by persecution at the hands of enemies or the intrigues of traitors. When the former leaders of the Communist Party of Spain, in the persons of the renegades expelled from the Party, Bullejos, Adame, Vega and Trilla, attempted to recruit Diaz to their side, he was able to see into their treacherous machinations and led the struggle against them, for the Party, for the line of the Comintern. It was in this irreconcilable and consistent struggle that the present leader of the Communist Party of Spain developed and grew strong, uniting around himself the healthy and best of the Party's forces. Since 1932 Jose Diaz has been at the head of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Spain. During this time Dolores Ibarburi—Pasionaria—has also been a member of the Political Bureau.

* * *

Pasionaria, the daughter of a miner, passed through her first school of class education in a so-called workers' center, where miners gathered together every evening and discussed their hard life. Here she became acquainted with the history of the heroic struggle of the workers of Biscay as told by those who organized and participated in these battles.

As a young girl, Pasionaria, like the majority of the daughters of Spanish miners, suffered the bitter lot of a servant to a rich family, and later as a waitress in a cafe. This school completed the class education of young Dolores. When she was 17 years old she joined the local Socialist group in Biscay, and from the very first day became one of its leading

members, and a correspondent to a Socialist newspaper. The passionate, fighting character of Dolores, her first articles and letters, completely justified her nickname of "Pasionaria".

The great proletarian revolution in Russia exerted exceptional influence over the development of the young woman revolutionary. From the very first day she became one of the warmest and most convinced defenders and propagandists of the Soviet socialist revolution in Russia. In 1920, the Socialist group to which Dolores belonged was one of the first to affiliate itself to the Communist organization which was being formed at that time in Madrid. And when the Communist Party was formed the next year, Pasionaria became one of its founders.

Not only in Biscay, but all over Spain, the workers of all political tendencies know very well Pasionaria—the fearless fighter, the flaming orator, the considerate comrade.

Anarcho-syndicalist workers tell how she saved a wounded comrade. She ran two kilometers after the police who were driving him over the border of the district, and afterwards hid him in her home.

In Bilbao, Socialists and Communists, all the working people saw how on May 1, 1931, during the first days of the republic, when the police attempted with whips and bullets to disband a demonstration organized by the Communist Party, Pasionaria raised high the banner and ran forward, drawing the masses after her, and led the demonstration through all the streets of the city.

Whether free or in jail Pasionaria is always organizing the struggle. The authorities of the jail in Madrid know quite well this flaming Communist who knows how to rally all the prisoners around herself.

By her struggle against fascism and war, Pasionaria succeeded in winning sympathy, admiration and authority, not only among working women, but also among the petty-bourgeois women. She succeeded in rallying them around the women's committee for the struggle against war and fascism, and in Madrid led them on the first mass women's demonstration in Spain against the decree on the mobilization of reserves (September, 1934).

And this year, on March 8, International Women's Day, 80,000 demonstrators marched in Madrid under the slogans of the Communist Party demanding the liberation of the working women of Spain from the triple oppression of landlord-capitalist exploitation, the bitter lot of women, and the menace of fascism and war. Pasionaria—the most popular woman in Spain—inspired these people.

In Asturias, after the defeat of the October days, Pasionaria was clever enough to make her way into the cells of the imprisoned fighters and to bring them the slogans of the Communist Party as well as information as to the successes of the People's Front. Pasionaria went to the widows and orphans of the Asturian miners, organized aid for them, not fearing threats or repression.

The Party members know and value Pasionaria not only as a brave fighter and considerate comrade, but as a model of irreconcilability to traitors in the ranks of the Party.

At the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, when

speaking of a correct policy towards cadres, Comrade Dimitroff emphasized the need for correctly promoting members, in the following words.

> "We have examples in our Parties of promotions which have produced excellent results. For instance, we have a Spanish woman Communist, sitting in the Presidium of this Congress, Comrade Dolores. Two years ago she was still a rank-and-file Party worker. But in the very first clashes with the class enemy she proved to be an excellent agitator and fighter. Subsequently promoted to the leading body of the Party, she has proved herself a most worthy member of that body."

Millions of women in the Spanish villages are beginning to look towards Pasionaria. Two thousand peasants of an Andalusian village wrote inviting her to come and organize them, and "lead us on the path which you are following and which will undoubtedly lead us to the same victory as that achieved by our Russian comrades".

Very wide masses of workers in Spain know and love their leaders—Jose Diaz and Dolores Pasionaria—who have proved by all their activities their supreme fidelity to the cause of the working class. Tens of thousands of new members of the Communist Party of Spain are now being trained by their example.

"The Wise French and Foolish Czechs"

By E. FISHER

THE victory of the People's Front in France caused tremendous consternation among the fascists. The opponents of the united front in the camp of the Second International were likewise dismayed.

When the French Socialists signed the united front agreement with the Communists, they came up against the very serious opposition of the reactionary elements within the Socialist International. The English, Scandinavian, Dutch and Czechoslovakian Social-Democrats condemned this "violation of discipline", and cautioned the French Socialists against the fatal consequences of a united front with Communists. They declared that the alliance between Socialists and Communists would frighten the middle class and drive them into the arms of fascism. They declared that fascism and not the working class would gain from the united front. It was with this political "farsightedness", which has long distinguished reformism, that they viewed the devilish maneuvers of the Communists, who, as is well known, are only concerned about one thing, namely, how to gobble up the harmless Socialists. They asserted that the French Socialist Party would get little joy from this alliance, and declaimed: "Whosoever tastes of Communism—of Communism shall perish."

When the Communist International addressed a proposal to the Socialist International to form a united front, and the French Socialists supported this proposal, the Dutch and Czechoslovakian Social-Democrats declared that they preferred to leave the International rather than approved the "experiment" of the French Socialists on an international scale, and carry it over to other countries. Appealing to the masses of workers drawn towards unity, they cried: "You shall see what will come of this in France and Spain. Our English comrades will win and take power into their hands—whereas the path taken by our French and Spanish comrades leads to the unknown". True, the Labor Party in England met with success in the elections, but far from that which was anticipated and which could have been possible had it followed the policy of the united front. The victories of the Spanish and French workers surpassed the boldest expectations and have created a new international situation.

Following the first round of the elections in France, malicious voices began to be heard in the camp of the Second International. The central organ of the Dutch Social-Democrats, the *Het Folk*, declared:

> "The first impression is one of disillusionment. Can it be that all the agitation of the People's Front has only resulted in helping the Communists to gain a half million votes?"

And certain Social-Democratic newspapers in Scandinavia and Czechoslovakia also expressed themselves in a similar vein. They did not

see the victory of the united front. They did not see the defeat of fascism. They saw only the victory of the Communists, and red spots appeared before their eyes. After the second round of the elections they could not but recognize the tremendous victory of the People's Front. The People's Front succeeded in driving fascism back, in penetrating deep into the ranks of the peasantry and the middle classes of the towns, winning a majority surpassing all the expectations of the Lefts and all the fears of the fascists. For the first time in the history of France, the Socialists received the largest number of Parliamentary seats, for the first time the domination of reaction in Paris has been broken. The People's Front won a great victory in France, and revolutionary reality rises in all its glory and might over the dark forebodings of the reformist enemies of the united front.

How will the reactionary leaders of the Second International now justify their refusal to join the united front before the Social-Democratic workers? How will they explain to the masses that that which is correct for France and Spain is at the same time a mistake for other countries, that the united front, the People's Front, which drove fascism back in France and Spain and brought victory to the workers and toilers, will act in the opposite way in other countries? All the arguments against the united front, against the People's Front, have been refuted by reality. Instead of repelling the middle classes, the united proletarian and people's anti-fascist front won them over; fascism was not strengthened but was dealt a heavy blow; the Communists did not "gobble up" the Socialists, but, together with them, rallied new masses around the red banner. What new pretext will the enemies of the united front invent in order to cover up the truth that as far as they are concerned, class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, which has already cleared the way for the victory of fascism in a number of countries, is more preferable than a united front with the Communists, is more important than the interests of the working class?

The Social-Democrats of Czechoslovakia have discovered such a pretext—apparently, however, not without the aid of the Brave Soldier Schweik. They now write in the *Pravo Lidu:* "The whole business is only to be explained by the fact that the French Communists are intelligent people while ours are foolish and uneducated." So it turns out that the trouble is that our Communist comrades in Czechoslovakia have not passed the intelligence test of the Czechoslovakian Social-Democrats. The Social-Democrats in Czechoslovakia are accustomed to sit in the government along with intelligent, educated and clever people, and they cannot lower themselves to the point of going hand in hand with the "foolish and ignorant" representatives of 800,000 foolish and ignorant Communist electors. Therefore, it is not political reasons but only reasons of an esthetic nature, which have hindered the formation of the united front in Czechoslovakia. The educated Social-Democratic leaders do not wish by contact with uneducated Communists to spoil their "style", to spoil their language, acquired through coalition with the partly educated and partly less educated, bourgeoisie.

The victories of the People's Front in Spain and in France have

knocked the political arguments of the Social-Democratic leaders against the united front out of their hands. What remains now is only the pitiful lame excuse that it is impossible in Czechoslovakia to bring about the united front since the mass Communist Party is composed of ignorant people.

In order to show how educated and intelligent are the Social-Democrats of Czechoslovakia, Stiven, editor of the *Pravo Lidu*, on May 7 printed an article entitled "Dimitroff Censures Gottwald", in which he repeats the absurd report appearing in the bourgeois press to the effect that Dimitroff gave a telegraphic order to the French Communists to adhere to the new tactical line, and adds:

> "The participation of the French Communists in the government would mean the greatest humiliation of the Communists in Czechoslovakia. . . ."

The French Communists have not entered the government, nor is it clear why their entry into the government would have been the greatest humiliation for the Czechoslovakian Communists. In France, the People's Front has won a great victory over the parties of finance capital, over the fascists and their hangers-on; in Czechoslovakia the Social-Democrats sit in the government along with the representatives of finance capital, with the Agrarians, the hangers-on of the fascists. In France the Communists, Socialists and Radical Socialists are closely cooperating to mobilize the masses of the people against reaction, while in Czechoslovakia the Social-Democratic leaders have rejected the united front with the Communists, and prefer to surround themselves with the reactionary Agrarians. In France, the Socialists, together with the Communists and Radical Socialists, undertook the struggle against the exceptional decrees, and against limitations on democracy, while in Czechoslovakia the Social-Democratic leaders, together with the reactionary parties, have limited democracy and are preparing a dictatorship of generals, with the aid of the defense law. In France, the Communists are not in principle against participation in a government which pledges itself to carry through the program of the united front. This is a question of political expediency and depends on the concrete situation. Has the government of Czechoslovakia anything at all in common with a government of the People's Front? Stiven prefers not to answer this question. He transposes the language of Schweik to a lofty tone of education and intelligence: "Have you heard", says he, "that Madame Sapletal told Madame Kreiz that Madame Stoynal said . . . have you heard that Dimitroff sent a telegram to Paris in which he orders the Communists how to vote in Parliament? Have you heard that not all is well between Dimitroff and Gottwald? We heard this from Madame Sapletal who heard this from Madame Kreiz"—and so on and so on in the same spirit. Hence the conclusion:

> "By this telegram Dimitroff absolutely repudiates Gottwald who asserted that he had the full agreement of Moscow for his new instruction, with the aid of which he broke the first attempts of the Communists to establish cooperation with the Social-

> Democrats. Did he or did he not receive this agreement? Did Dimitroff, in the space of a few weeks, change the tactics of the Moscow International or did Gottwald act in opposition to these tactics?"

People less educated and intelligent than the author of the above quoted article will not understand these questions put by the *Pravo Lidu* At first the Czechoslovakian Social-Democrats told their followers tha Gottwald had returned in order to carry through the orders of Moscow And suddenly Stiven and his like begin to doubt their own statements and accuse Gottwald of acting not in agreement with Moscow at all And finally, they get tangled in the product of their own imaginatio and break their heads over the question: Is it Dimitroff; or is it Gott wald? And what happened anyway?

But with all their education and intelligence they will not be abl to fool the workers. The election victory of the French People's Front i not calling forth that confusion among the Social-Democratic worker of Czechoslovakia which it has called forth among their leaders. Th Social-Democratic workers understand very well that neither has Dimi troff changed his tactics, nor is Gottwald acting in contradiction to th Communist International. They understand very well that the Frenc People's Front is something different from the coalition of Czechis Social-Democracy with the Agrarian and other reactionary parties, an they will answer the many complicated questions put by Stiven with on simple question: *"Why do we not follow the example of our Frenc comrades?"* Maybe Stiven will answer that this question is terribl stupid and bears witness to a lack of education. But the workers wil not be satisfied with this. The workers of both France and Czechoslovaki are striving to establish a united front, but the leaders of the Czecho slovakian Social-Democrats really differ from the leaders of the Frenc Socialists, who, after some waverings, joined with the Communist against Laval. The Czech Social-Democrats, however, prefer coalitio with the Lavals in their country to the united front with those who follow the Communists. This is not "humiliating" Gottwald, but a serious dange for the Czechoslovakian working class, for democracy in Czechoslovaki The victory of the People's Front in France will help the workers o Czechoslovakia to struggle against this danger and to embody in lif the call made by Dimitroff and Gottwald to take the path of the victoriou united front, the path taken by the proletariat of Spain and France.

Joy By Order

By K. ROLPH

THE *Frankfurter Zeitung* of May 1 published a selection of high-flown phrases, headed "May Day Celebrations". The newspaper states that the celebration of May 1 in the Soviet Union is nothing more or less than a "parade in honor of the world revolution"; while in Hitler Germany the May Day celebrations are a popular holiday directed inwards and not towards the world revolution, a holiday full of harmony, and jollity. In order to add his contribution to this jollity "directed inwards", the author of the article draws the following conclusion.

> "But of course, even joy and happiness can be thoroughly spoiled. 'Be happy, man, enjoy yourself!' can be even said with vehemence. But if you repeat this often enough, then finally it will become ridiculous; therefore the aim is achieved, even if in a round-about way."

These meditations can be understood only after reading the May Day appeal of the "German Labor Front", the appeal of Dr. Ley. This appeal does not begin with the order—"Attention! Right about turn! March!" but with the words: "Enjoy life!" This may be pronounced with vehemence. This may be shouted out so often that the German will begin to understand: "Well, now the matter is really serious! I am in duty bound not only to attack France, not only to pay taxes and to feed myself on world history instead of butter, not only to pay in advance for war and to tremble before the Gestapo* but I must also enjoy life."

In the Germany of concentration camps and feverish armament, joy has died out. But now an order has been given—"Be full of the joy of life! Leave it to us to knock joy into you, you whiners and critics!"

> "Germans in town and country", commands Herr Ley, "Rejoice in life!
>
> "Every lark begins to sing in the springtime. Every tomtit and quail will chirp about this dewy fresh morn. May has come, nature exults and sings, the trees rustle and the flowers converse. The great, eternal world of God resounds, sings and laughs with the joy of living, which flows over the brim."

This is the prelude—the tomtits and the quails chirp about this in the mornings—the Gestapo executioners will knock it into the heads of the people, and alongside the executioner's block and the munition works "everything sings and laughs with the joy of living which flows over the brim". Of course, this joy of life is a National-Socialist product; previously it did not exist and only the "unified" person can "accept" life.

> "The bourgeoisie", declares Ley, "who play at being liberal, or the Marxian proletariat—all of them, all—deny life. . . .

* German Secret Police.

> They hate. They hate their countrymen and in the last analysis they hate themselves. . . ."

Dr. Ley proves by examples that the Communists and the Socialists do not want to live. They, don't you see, do not know the reason for the creation of the world, and so the National-Socialists deprive them of life, place them in the Gestapo dungeons and concentration camps in order to knock the reason for the creation of the world into their heads. "Enjoy life. Life again has meaning!" commands Ley. Every new gun, every new warship, every new gas bomb embodies this meaning. Enjoy life! The burning of the Reichstag meant the "dawn of life's happiness". If the world catches fire it will perish in the fire of the joy of life. Therefore, be happy, man. Enjoy yourself, it will not last very long! "Enjoy life! We have an incomparable leader who has no equal."

The leader marches at the head of the German people in order to teach the world to rejoice at his command. But, finally, even Dr. Ley feels somewhat awkward at all this excessive joy of life, for he enjoys his life while there is wine enough—as is well known in Germany—but is he in a condition to infect the masses of the people with his joy? Even he himself is not absolutely certain about this and he adds:

> "In the name of thirty million toiling Germans organized in the National-Socialist 'Strength in Joy' association, I must tell you, my leader, that these men and women do not want the paradise of illusory promises and hypocritical self-deceit. These men and women want not only sunshine and happiness; they know that life is made up of sun and rain, of joy and care, of holidays and weekdays, of poor and good days. . . . This you have taught to our people."

Previously, it seems, it was not known that there existed day and night, and winter and summer, only Hitler has driven this knowledge into the heads of the people. At any rate the leader is calmed by the assurances of Ley, that, "In the name of thirty million toiling Germans", no one in Germany wants the "paradise of illusory promises", which the National-Socialists so unstintingly distributed among the German people before they seized power. These illusory promises as, for example, to destroy the yoke of usury and the poverty of the peasantry and to overcome capitalism, etc., are no longer necessary, for the people want not only the good days but they also want the poor days. Hitler has taken good care of this. The German people have lived through bad days and are living through still worse days under the domination of the Hitlerites. But do they really want it? Let Ley howl that the real joy of life consists in the fact that bad weather, cares and rainy days also exist, let him make it the duty of every German to rejoice in life on this account. How unconvincing this actually is, is proven by the arguments of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, to the effect that "even joy and happiness can be spoiled".

The appeal of Dr. Ley is symptomatic of the new methods being employed by Hitler fascism. Hitler and his closest followers have suddenly begun to speak about peace, democracy and happiness. The more

mercilessly they oppress the people and the more determinedly they threaten the world, the more diligently they attempt to cover, with rosy clouds, the war for which they are preparing. Unfortunately, they are able to fool a great part of the German people, but as for driving the joy of life into the heads of the masses of the people—this cannot be done even by those in the "Third Empire", who are tried and tested in hoodwinking the people. One can, perhaps, die by order, but one cannot enjoy life by order. The people must be free if they are to enjoy life, and as long as the nightmare known as Hitler exists, as long as the spies of the Gestapo listen in to every word spoken and watch every glance and every smile, as long as the poisonous fog of fascism gathers ever more definitely into the clouds of war, so long there will be no joy in Germany.

Only after the fall of Hitler will the German people again acquire happiness.

The Constitution of the Workers' and Peasants' Socialist State

THE Constitutional Commission, composed of leaders of the Party and government, headed by the leader of the people, Comrade Stalin, has ended its work. The draft of the new constitution of the U.S.S.R. has been drawn up.

On the initiative of Comrade Stalin, the February (1935) Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Seventh Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. adopted a decision to change the Soviet constitution. The people, not only of the land of the Soviets, but of the entire world, are becoming more and more interested in these decisions, and already prior to the adoption of the new Soviet constitution, these decisions have become a most important political document.

As far back as 1909 Lenin wrote:

> "The essence of the constitution lies in the fact that the basic laws of the state in general, and the laws which concern electoral rights to representative organizations, their competence, etc., express the real relation of forces in the class struggle."

It is precisely the fact that the new "relation of forces in the class struggle" finds its expression in the new Soviet constitution that explains the profound attention towards, and interest in it, expressed not only by the toilers throughout the world, but also by representatives of the ruling classes in the capitalist countries.

The preceding stages of the development of the state of the proletarian dictatorship found their expression in the Soviet constitutions of 1918 and 1923.

The first Soviet constitution, drawn up under the immediate leadership of Lenin and Stalin, was accepted by the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets on July 10, 1918. The characteristic features of the first period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which had been won only eight months before the Fifth Congress of Soviets, found their expression in this first constitution. In it a record was made of the gains achieved during this period, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat, based on an alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry, and the first steps taken by socialism in the economic life of the country. On the basis of the first Soviet constitution in which Lenin and Stalin formulated the basic aim of the dictatorship of the proletariat as being "the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, the complete removal of the division of society into classes", the toiling masses of Russia, the Ukraine, White Russia, Transcaucasus, etc., led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, defended their existence, their right to "set up a socialist organization of society".

In the heroic years of the civil war, the Soviet government crushed the internal counter-revolution and the forces of the imperialist bloc of fourteen states. Only in 1921 was the worn-out country really able to proceed to economic construction. A new regrouping of forces was necessary.

After the Party crushed the Trotskyists, the "Workers' Opposition", and other factional and capitulatory groups, it adopted the new economic policy which calculated upon the "victory of the socialist elements over the capitalist elements", upon "the destruction of classes, the building of the foundation of socialist economy." (Stalin.)

The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the end of 1922 was a measure of very great state and political importance. Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin the constitution of the U.S.S.R. was drawn up, and put into operation by the decision of the Second Session of the first convocation of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. held on July 6, 1923.

The Soviet Union arose in a fierce struggle against all kinds of opportunism and chauvinism. The constitution of the Soviet Union formulated the basic principles of Soviet policy in relation to national minorities, a policy which ensures the complete destruction not only of the juridical, but factual inequality of the numerous nationalities which populate the U.S.S.R. Only the great proletarian revolution and the decisive victories of socialism made possible the unheard-of development of culture, national in form and socialist in content, which we are witnessing and in which we are taking part. The Soviet system and its constitution helped the stormy growth of all the national state organizations crowned by the U.S.S.R.

The successes of socialist construction, the growth of economic power and proletarian personnel, and the flowering of culture in the Soviet Union predetermined the further growth and consolidation of Soviet federalism and autonomy.

In 1922, during the First Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, there were only four republics in the Soviet Union. At present there are seven such republics. A number of autonomous regions—the Kalmitzk, Mordovia, Udmurt, etc.—have been reorganized into autonomous republics. The Cherkask National Region and the Biro-Bidjan National District have been reorganized into autonomous regions.

The former backward nationalities, especially on the east and north of the U.S.S.R., basing themselves on the brotherly aid of the leading peoples of the Soviet Union, have joined the general current of socialism, and are avoiding the tortuous capitalist path of development.

The socialist economic system, which does not know crises and unemployment, has grown and become strong, and is developing on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in whose hands the country's economic plans are a weapon for raising the well-being of the masses and strengthening the economic, political and military power of the U.S.S.R.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with its many nationalities, has solved the most important tasks of socialist construction. The dictatorship of the proletariat—the main weapon for the Communist reor-

ganization of society—has grown up and become strong.

The U.S.S.R. has changed from a backward agrarian country into a leading, powerful industrial power, armed with its own leading, high technique. The most difficult task facing the proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union with its formerly small peasantry, namely, the Socialist reforming of the village, has been solved. As a result of the fulfillment of the First Five-Year Plan, the collective farm system is triumphant, finally and irrevocably. Socialist property, which is the basis of the Soviet system and which when the first Soviet Constitution was adopted did not as yet take a leading position in the U.S.S.R., has now become the undividedly ruling power in the U.S.S.R. The numerous social layers that existed in Soviet economic life are a thing of the past. The capitalist elements have been abolished, small commodity farming which was at one time predominant in Soviet economy has, to the extent of nine-tenths, become transformed into Socialist farming. Socialism is triumphant in town and country.

The powerful Stakhanov movement, which developed on the basis of the new technique and the tremendous victories of socialism, is brilliant proof of the successful struggle of the Party to establish socialist productivity of labor. Ever new thousands of heroes of labor are once more decisively demonstrating to the entire world the advantage of socialism over capitalism.

The victorious fulfillment of the Stalinist Five-Year Plan proves that "our proletarian revolution is the only revolution in the world which has proved able to show the people not only its political results, but also its material results". (Stalin.) In the U.S.S.R. we see the fulfillment of the basic principles of socialism, namely that "He who does not work, neither shall he eat"; and "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work".

The Stalinist formula ". . . Life has become better, comrades, life has become more joyous" clearly expresses the victories of socialism achieved by the people of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, headed by the great Stalin.

These victories of socialism have created a new "relation of forces" in the country which could not be expressed in the first or second Soviet constitutions. This is why a *new constitution* is necessary—a document of victorious socialism, a constitution of the Soviet workers' and peasants' state which spreads over one-sixth of the world.

At the Seventh Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. Comrade Molotov stated that the new constitution would indicate the path along which the development of the Soviet state is traveling. . . . This path is the development of proletarian Soviet democracy, to the end.

Soviet democracy, the product of the great proletarian revolution, was from the very day it came into being "a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy". (Lenin.)

Bourgeois democracy, which represents a certain progress in comparison with absolutism, is not and never was the power of the people, since it is based on "limiting the rights of the exploiting majority" and is directed "against this majority". (Stalin.)

Bourgeois democracy, as expressed in the various kinds of constitutions of the capitalist countries, is not only narrow, but false. The paragraphs of the bourgeois constitutions contain their own negation: ". . . Freedom, in the general phrases, and the abolition of freedom, as a reservation." (Marx.) Soviet power was, for the first time in history, power by the people—authentic democracy. Soviet power, proletarian democracy, being a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was from the very first day it came into being democracy for nine-tenths of the population. The great proletarian revolution abolished the age-long antagonism between society and the state, which is characteristic of any exploiting state. The Soviet constitution destroyed the century-old difference between formal freedom and its "earthly existence". Soviet power not only announced freedom of organization, assembly, demonstration, speech, press and conscience, but also helped really to bring about this freedom for the toilers by placing all the "technical and material means" such as former palaces, public buildings, printing works, paper supplies, etc., at their disposal and by opening to the toilers the widest facilities for free education, real science, which are alien to priestcraft and obscurantism.

But in the first stages of its development Soviet democracy was still not complete democracy: it was democracy for nine-tenths of the population, for the toilers, namely, workers and peasants. The dictatorship of the proletariat was not able to give political rights to one-tenth of the population, namely, the exploiters and their lackeys, the task being to crush and liquidate the capitalist elements. Besides this, the Soviet constitution gave the working class preference in representation, in the elections to all organs of power (by about 2.7 times), as compared with the peasantry, in order to strengthen the leading role of the working class as the most revolutionary, organized leading, and politically conscious class.

In this respect, and in this respect alone, was Soviet democracy limited in its first stages. These limitations were called into being by the conditions and tasks of destroying the division of society into classes, and the necessity of giving constitutional form to the leading role of the proletariat in their alliance with the peasantry.

But even with these aforementioned limitations, the dictatorship of the proletariat ensured the very widest democracy, which has been really used by the absolute majority of the population, consisting of toilers.

At present when the exploiting classes have been abolished in the U.S.S.R. and as Comrade Stalin has said, "Our society consists exclusively of only free men of town and country, of workers, peasants, and brain workers", the necessity for the former limitations of Soviet democracy has disappeared.

Soviet democracy is becoming democracy for the entire population of the U.S.S.R. Universal suffrage will be established in the new Soviet constitution, and only individual people will be deprived of this right by sentence of court.

While in capitalist countries, developments, as Comrade Molotov said, are moving "in the direction of negative democracy and of the pas-

sage to fascism", in the land of the Soviets real democracy is developing. Really universal, equal and direct suffrage with the secret ballot will be completely realized only in the Soviet parliament.

In the U.S.S.R. the electoral campaign is the "broad way of involving as many people as possible into state construction". (Kaganovich.) The new electoral system, with its "election struggle" around practical questions of socialist construction, will be a powerful weapon for further developing the political activity of the masses, and a means of improving the work of the entire Soviet apparatus. "Direct, and secret suffrage in the U.S.S.R., will be a whip in the hands of the population against the organs of government which work badly." (Stalin.)

The development of Soviet democracy to the end presupposes the further stormy growth of the political and productive activity of the masses, the growth of their activity and system of organization. Mass social organizations such as the trade unions, soviets, Young Communist League, cooperatives and various societies and organizations, led by the Bolshevik Party, will receive unheard of scope in their work. Under the leadership of these organizations and in them the free workers in town and country will provide new examples of creative initiative and heroism in the struggle for the final liquidation of the remnants of capitalism in economic life and in the consciousness of the people.

The new Soviet constitution, as a weapon for the further strengthening of the people's socialist state, as a weapon for the final crushing of any wrecking activity by the dregs of the hostile class elements, will record and guarantee the final liberation of the toilers from exploitation and class and national inequality, and the inequality of women. Any attempts to restore such inequality and exploitation in the Land of the Soviets are punished by the revolutionary law.

In his talk with Mr. Roy Howard, Comrade Stalin, said:

> ". . . We did not build this society in order to restrict personal liberty but in order that the human individual may feel really free. We build it for the sake of real personal liberty, liberty without any quotation marks. It is difficult for me to imagine what 'personal liberty' is enjoyed by an unemployed person who goes about hungry, and cannot find employment. Real liberty can exist only where exploitation has been abolished; where there is no oppression of some by others; where there is no unemployment and poverty; where a man is not haunted by the fear of being tomorrow deprived of work, of home, and of bread. Only in such a society is real, and not paper, personal and all other liberty possible."*

Only the socialist state ensures its citizens real freedom, A brilliant example of how the Party and government are ensuring that the liberation of the toilers from all kinds of inequality and exploitation is a real thing is the fact that the draft bill for the prohibition of abortions, for giving aid to women during pregnancy, for extending the network of maternity homes, nurseries, etc., has been placed before the people for public discussion. The very fact that the draft of such an important law

* *The Stalin-Howard Interview,* pp. 12-13. International Publishers, New York.

has been submitted to preliminary discussion by the people is a most brilliant index of the essence of Soviet democracy, the product of the great October Socialist Revolution. The law regarding the prohibition of abortions, the provision of material aid to women during pregnancy, the extension of a network of maternity homes, nurseries, etc., will be a new stage in the struggle for the final emancipation of women, since this law will be immediately provided with a real basis in the shape of a tremendous increase in the number of beds in maternity homes of new lying-in stations, nurseries, milk distribution points, kindergartens, and an increase in the material aid to women during pregnancy, and to parents with large families.

In a bourgeois state all the main rights belong to the exploiters, and the most important work to the exploited. The church consecrated this "division", with the biblical fable of Noah and his three sons, of whom Sem, the priest, "prays for all", Japheth, the king, "cares for all", and Ham "works for all". Socialist morals, hammered out in the struggle of the working class for socialism, not only brands with shame anyone who watches for an opportunity to fatten on "someone else's hard toil" and does not work, but Soviet law simply deprives him of bread: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat".

The socialist organization of economy, the absence of crises and unemployment, have provided the toilers of the U.S.S.R. with the real right to work, the right to rest and the right to free education. The people of the U.S.S.R. are provided with all possibilities for an uninterrupted increase in their well-being, for a cultured and prosperous life. Productive, socially useful labor in all its forms and varieties is the first obligation on each Soviet citizen who is able to work. Labor in the U.S.S.R. has really become "a thing of honor, a thing of glory, a thing of valor and heroism". (Stalin.) The thousands and thousands of people decorated by the government, workers in various fields of production, science and art, are a brilliant confirmation of this.

If idlers and shirkers are people who are despised by Soviet society, then all those who attack socialist property, as well as traitors to the fatherland, and terrorists, are regarded by Soviet people and Soviet law as the most foul criminals, enemies of the people, in relation to whom only one law exists, namely, "the enemy must be destroyed".

Side by side with an honest attitude towards labor and the strengthening of the Soviet family and attention to the growing generation, the main obligations of the Soviet citizen are the protection and multiplication of socialist property, the strict fulfillment of Soviet laws, unselfish defense of the fatherland, a struggle against all enemies of the new society whatsoever, going as far as their complete destruction. The conscientious fulfillment of these obligations is the condition for the stability of the rights of the citizen of the U.S.S.R.

The new Soviet constitution, which establishes the "basic rights" and "duties of citizens", will be of primary importance in further developing and strengthening the socialist understanding of the law. The people of the U.S.S.R., who threw off the age-old chains of all exploitation and oppression and who defended their rights to socialism in a bloody strug-

gle, cannot now assume a patient attitude towards violation of these rights.

Socialist law, which defends the basis of the socialist system, namely, socialist property, and the interests of the state, stands on guard in defense of the rights of the citizens of the U.S.S.R.

The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. enables it to proceed to restore to normal and put into order all legislative work, to strengthen the court system. The stability of socialist relations is the most important condition for firm Soviet legislation, calculated for a more or less long period of time, without weighing it down with hitherto unavoidable corrections, changes and additions. Soviet law must be exact and firm and understandable to the masses. The most important condition of the firmness of Soviet legislation is the fundamental law of the Soviet state, namely its constitution. The constitution is a firm basis for all the varied work of the state and the various governmental day-to-day and legislative activity.

The correct functioning of the state apparatus, a clear division of functions among the various organs of power, the strict operation of a single socialist legality, the strictest discipline and the responsibility of the lower organs of power to the ones above, and the responsibility of the deputies to their electors—such are the demands made today on the Soviet state apparatus, which bases itself in its work on the workers and peasants and their social organizations. At present new responsible tasks are being laid upon the Soviet state apparatus in respect to further strengthening and developing socialist society, won as it has been by the struggle of the masses.

The exact expression, the model, of this society of free workers of town and country is the new Soviet constitution, drawn up under the guidance of the great Stalin.

Letters of the Youth of Spain to Georgi Dimitroff

[*A large number of youth organizations in Spain have in the recent period sent Comrade Dimitroff messages of greetings, of which we publish the following.*—EDITORIAL BOARD]

YOUNG SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION
BISCAY
Section in Arbaleda

May 6, 1936

Comrade Georgi Dimitroff,

I have the great pleasure of informing you that at our unity meeting our young people unanimously decided to send fraternal greetings to you, fighter against fascism, and tireless propagandist of the cause of uniting the workers.

Greetings, comrade!

In the name of the Committee
General Secretary,
[Signature and seal.]

* * *

YOUNG SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION
BILBAO

Bilbao, April 29, 1936

Comrade Georgi Dimitroff,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.
Dear Comrade,

The Unity Conference of the Youth, in which one thousand, five hundred young Socialists and Communists have taken part, and which completed the organizational unity of the young Socialists and Communists in Bilboa, decided to send you fraternal, revolutionary greetings and to express their gratitude to you for your work in the interests of uniting the revolutionary proletariat.

At its first meetings, the Committee, which was elected by the Conference, sends you hearty revolutionary greetings, and expresses its determination to struggle for the most speedy unification of the proletariat of our country and throughout the entire world, and for the creation in this way of the organ of the proletarian revolution.

Accept fraternal revolutionary greetings from those who are loyal to you and the cause of Marxism-Leninism.

In the name of the United Socialist Youth,
General Secretary
[Signature]

[Seal]

B. Popov and V. Tanev to Dimitroff and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria

[In No. 1 of *The Communist International* of January, 1936* there were published the statements of Comrades Popov and Tanev, and the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria in reference to these statements.

In an introductory article to these documents Comrade Kolarov was absolutely correct in emphasizing that since Comrades Tanev and Popov try to justify themselves, it is hardly possible to consider their "self-criticism satisfactory".

Below we publish statements by Comrades Popov and Tanev which contain more developed criticisms of their action in court.—EDITORIAL BOARD]

* * *

TO COMRADE DIMITROFF AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BULGARIA:

In issue No. 21, 1935, of *The Communist International* a declaration was published by myself and Comrade Tanev regarding our behavior at the Leipzig Trial. With a view to drawing lessons both for ourselves personally and for the entire Communist movement, for those comrades who still have to face the fascist court, we attempted in this declaration to give a criticism of the incorrect and non-Bolshevik way in which we conducted our defense at the trial in connection with the Reichstag fire.

The Leipzig trial, as is well known, was among the great historical events of the past years. It thereby also became a very rich school for educating Communist cadres, an unending source from which the Bolshevik cadres of the brother Communist Parties will draw lessons for themselves. It is now a rare thing to find a Communist in fascist countries who has not been in fascist jails, aye—and who among the Communists are not threatened with having to pass through this bitter test? All these comrades will remember the Leipzig trial first and foremost, and will look to it to draw lessons for themselves. Therefore, it is a most urgent duty for all Communists and, first and foremost, for us who were accused at this trial to draw all the lessons which arise out of it. The lessons drawn will be incomplete and insufficient if we only show the positive sides of the Leipzig battle, if we only show the brilliant example of the struggle conducted by Comrade Dimitroff. The treacherous behavior of Torgler must also be shown and the mistakes made by myself and Comrade Tanev must be completely pointed out and condemned so that other comrades who find themselves in the clutches

* These statements were published in the No. 21 issue of the Russian edition of *The Communist International*.

of fascism may not repeat them in one form or another; so that we who took part in this trial may not repeat these mistakes in our further struggle, not allow them to appear again in our daily Party work, no matter where it is done.

Unfortunately we were very late in submitting our mistakes to criticism, and this criticism was insufficient, did not expose the full profundity of our mistakes and was not carried to its conclusion. This happened because until a short time ago we did not understand the profound nature of our mistakes; we stubbornly stuck to our viewpoint and thereby our mistakes became greater.

While recognizing various mistakes, we did not see first and foremost that the fundamental line of our defense differed sharply from the line of defense pursued by Comrade Dimitroff, that our defense was only a personal one. Whereas, from the very first day of the trial Comrade Dimitroff undertook a political defense or, to be more correct, not defense but attack against fascism, we took the line of personal juridical defense. Our task, since we were not working in the Communist Party of Germany, and only fell accidentally into the hands of the German fascists was, we thought, to expose the false witnesses brought against us, to prove that we had no hand in the fire. What is more, we carried out the whole of this defense on a juridical basis (refutation of witnesses, establishment of alibis, etc.). We did not once make a protest, despite the fact that possibilities existed for doing so, against the fascist act of provocation in respect to the German workers, the burning of the Reichstag and the staging of this trial. Had we made such a protest and declared our solidarity with the brilliant defense put up by Comrade Dimitroff we would have immediately transferred the whole of our defense to political channels and would have taken the path not of defense, but of an attack on fascism, since the entire world knew that we had nothing to do with the fire. And so the task facing all of us accused Communists lay not in seeking defense on a juridical basis, but in exposing the whole business connected with the Reichstag fire. In this way we would have used the platform provided by the trial as a tribune for carrying on a political struggle against fascism. This is the direct task facing every Communist in any open trial wherever it may take place.

We did not do this, and we have to admit this openly. We, as Communists, did not fulfil our duty as we should have done. And the fact that we took the path of personal juridical defense constitutes our basic mistake. It is from this that our other mistakes follow; since we, unfortunately, adhered to the position of personal juridical defense throughout the whole of the trial.

On the first day of the trial Comrade Dimitroff seized a favorable opportunity to tell me, unseen by the police guard (we were forbidden to speak with each other) that "we must refuse to accept the lawyer appointed for us by the court". And on the same day he refused to accept the appointed lawyer.

I, however, decided that there was no need for me to depend upon the lawyer in the court, that neither was there any need for me to refuse to accept him, but that his services should be used for the calling of witnesses, the receiving of documents which were necessary for the ex-

posure of the witnesses brought by the prosecutor, and for the establishment of alibis, etc. Tanev thought the same. Hence it can be seen that we also defined our attitude to the official lawyer, not from the viewpoint of the political struggle at the trial, but from that of personal juridical defense.

Dimitroff stated in the court that:

> "After this proposal was rejected, I decided to defend myself. Needing neither the honey nor the poison of the eloquence of the defending counsel who was thrust on me, I defended myself all the time without the aid of a lawyer."

After making this statement, Dimitroff continued the struggle in court for the appointment of lawyers of our own choice (a struggle which all of us carried on before the trial) and at the same time openly protested against the fascist court depriving the accused of their defense. Tanev and I did nothing. And it turned out that it was not we who made use of the lawyer, but the court that made use of us, since we thus made it possible for the court to boast of the "independence" of juridical defense in Hitler Germany.

Another mistake of ours was that when Dimitroff was expelled from the courtroom for his fearless struggle, we did not protest. Why? It was clear that were we to make such a protest, we would be removed from the courtroom immediately. And we considered that our presence in the courtroom was more important than a protest. For it was clear that the witnesses brought against us would be cross-examined on the very days when we would not be in the hall. That is what they did to Dimitroff. But Dimitroff subordinated the exposure of the various witnesses brought against him to the more important basic task of carrying on a political struggle against fascism. And we did the opposite. We subordinated the protest in defense of Dimitroff, which would have meant complete unity, support and solidarity with his onslaught on fascism, to the task of conducting a juridical defense.

Afraid that we would be removed from the courtroom and that false witnesses would be questioned in our absence, we did not, in court, give publicity to the fact that we had been beaten up when we were questioned by the police.

I had intended to speak about the beatings, and about many other things which I either could not or did not consider necessary to speak about during the trial, at length in my concluding statement when my removal from the courtroom would not have been of any importance for the exposure of witnesses. But when, at the end of the trial, the prosecuting attorney quite unexpectedly withdrew his charges against us, we refrained from making any concluding statement, but were satisfied with making only a short declaration. That the prosecuting attorney, after the whole trial had clearly broken down, withdrew his charges against Dimitroff and us, was a deliberate move in order to keep us from making any concluding statement. Dimitroff did not fall for this maneuver of the prosecuting attorney and in his concluding speech, in which his heroic struggle reached its climax, he dealt his last decisive blows at his opponents as they fled from the field of battle in Leipzig.

But Tanev and I neither understood nor did this. We did not do this, because, adhering to the position of personal juridical defense, we thought that our enemies were themselves surrendering, our innocence was proved, and that there was no reason to do anything further. Only afterwards did we learn how impatiently the entire world was awaiting the concluding statement of the accused, and only then did we see what a mistake we had made.

As a result of all that has been said here, I consider the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria regarding our behavior at the Leipzig Trial to be absolutely correct. My further work in the ranks of the Communist movement must show how far I have succeeded in deeds in drawing the lessons from my own mistakes for my further Bolshevik education, which, as the Leipzig Trial showed, was far from being at its requisite level. To this end, I shall do everything necessary, everything that the Party demands of me.

B. Popov

* * *

To Comrade Dimitroff and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria:

In issue No. 21, 1935, of *The Communist International* magazine, there was also published, in connection with our statement of February 25, 1935, headed "Our Behavior at the Leipzig Trial", the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria regarding this. I agree with this decision of the Central Committee, and consider that it quite correctly points out the mistakes made by us. I also consider as correct the article written by Comrade Kolarov, published in the same issue, since it was clear from our declaration that we still did not understand the profound character of the mistakes committed by us.

* * *

On January 16, 1934, after eleven months' solitary confinement, we —Comrades Dimitroff, Popov and I—were transferred to the same cell, and for the first time we were able to speak of all that we had lived through.

During this first meeting, Comrade Dimitroff said the following to us: "Yes, comrades, now that the trial has ended we must think things over, draw conclusions, and disclose the strong and weak sides of our struggle at the trial." And Comrade Dimitroff thereupon said: "I consider that you have made a number of mistakes, that you have not acted as Bolsheviks. At bottom, there were three lines pursued at the trial. There were four of us, Communists—four armed fighters. Torgler is a deserter, for he threw down his rifle and ran from the field of battle. You two did not throw down your rifles, you remained in position, but you did not shoot, and I had to shoot alone all the time." And really, one only needs to think over everything which Comrade Dimitroff then said to be able very easily to understand that his statements were absolutely correct.

Comrade Dimitroff alone carried on the entire political struggle at the trial, and thanks to him alone was the fascist act of provocation

exposed, and was it proved as clearly as possible that the burning o the Reichstag was the work of the fascists, that the Reichstag was fire not by the Communists but by the National-Socialists themselves, an that it was fired in order to justify their barbarous acts of lawlessnes directed against the workers and the toiling masses of the Germa people. It was with exceptional Bolshevik consistency that Comrad Dimitroff held the code of law of the German state in one hand, and th program of the Comintern in the other, and thus directed blow upo blow against fascism. He pointed out that "the Communist movemen which leads masses in their millions, and which is already in power ove one-sixth of the globe", that "*such a world party does not play wit insurrection and revolution* . . . such a Party . . . does not know o double-bookkeeping". But Comrade Dimitroff immediately emphasize that "the Communist Party of Germany is certainly carrying on th struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the task facin the Communist Parties throughout the whole world. This is our principle this is our aim."

But this was not the point, whether the Communist Party of Ger many had at the given moment advanced the task of immediately seizin power. All materials go to prove that the Communist Party of Germany did not advance such a task at that moment. Thus was Comrade Dimitroff able to use the fascist code for the propaganda of the program of th Comintern.

By his courage Comrade Dimitroff showed the entire world an ex ample of the behavior of a professional revolutionary, of a man who under the threat of fascist terror, threw back into the face of the fascist hangmen the idea that the Communist Party of Germany was destroyed!

> "The banning of the Party", said he, "the disbanding of mass organizations, the loss of legality—certainly all of these are heavy blows at the revolutionary movement. But this is *far from meaning that everything is thereby lost. . . . The German Communist Party, even while being illegal, can, in the proper situation, bring about a revolution.*"

One of the accused was Torgler. The Communist Party of Germany acted correctly in expelling him since his behavior at the trial was equal to treachery to the Party.

And what about us, Popov and I? The declaration made by us a few months ago showed that despite the repeated advice of Comrade Dimitroff and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, we nevertheless did not recognize the full profundity of the mistakes made by us. We did not fully understand that we occupied an incorrect and non-Bolshevik position at the trial.

Our behavior at the trial was non-Bolshevik. The extent to which we were steeled, and our political experience proved to be insufficient for us to be able to adopt a real Bolshevik position when we found ourselves in a complicated situation. Our position was one of personal juridical defense. Hence there followed the mistakes we made, such as agreeing to accept an official lawyer, not reporting the fact that we had been beaten up, etc.

Our line was not a political Bolshevik line of attack against fascism, as carried through by Comrade Dimitroff during the entire trial.

We did not understand and did not fulfil our international duty, namely, that of defending the Communist Party of Germany and of attacking fascism. Our line of *personal defense* was contradictory to the line of the *defense of Communism*—in all circumstances, no matter where a Communist finds himself.

All this showed that as a Bolshevik I was not yet sufficiently steeled and this was shown at the trial as well. Sectarianism deprived me of the ability courageously to defend Communism on the international arena. Sectarianism expressed itself in our behavior at the trial, in a narrow national limitedness—as against the Bolshevik line and courage of Comrade Dimitroff.

We quite mistakenly thought that Torgler should defend the Communist Party of Germany and Comrade Dimitroff, the Comintern, and at the same time the Communist Party of Germany, and thereby attack fascism; and our business, we thought, was a small one; not to give up Communism, and defend ourselves personally.

Comrade Dimitroff said that we did not throw down our rifles, but neither did we shoot. We could have "fired" accurately many times. When Goering became furious and Comrade Dimitroff was expelled from the courtroom we should have protested. We should have thrown the accusation into the face of Goering that in his jails people are beaten and driven to suicide. There were many such and similar opportunities during the three months struggle at the trial, but we did not use a single one of them.

I consider it necessary to touch on one more point which refers to me personally, namely, the attempt I made during the preliminary investigation to commit suicide by cutting my veins.

How did I come to this?

I had not the faintest idea, as I sat in solitary confinement in the fascist catacombs, of what was developing around our affair. It is clear that to a certain extent I lost faith in my ability to get myself out of this complicated and tangled situation, created by the fascist provocateurs. Added to this were the remnants of the petty-bourgeois "revolutionarism", since I decided that I must die "honestly".

This is distinct from the Bolshevik endurance and courage of Comrade Dimitroff, which says: die if necessary, but carry on the struggle against the enemy, for the Communist cause, to your very last breath.

There are many other sides to the question. I could by this action of mine have seriously harmed my comrades, since the fascist police could have made one additional provocation, could have concocted the false testimony in my name to the effect that we had set fire to the Reichstag. They could have freely written this had I not remained alive, just as they falsified all the evidence. The entire trial with all its details was built on provocation.

It is with all Bolshevik seriousness that I am drawing all the conclusions for myself from that which took place at the Leipzig trial. They will be a lesson for me in my further work.

V. TANEV.

The London Congress of Peace and Friendship with the U.S.S.R.

By B. ROBERTS

"THE peace of Europe depends on closer cooperation between Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., and, besides that, social progress will be furthered by a course of scientific study . . . of the great new social experiment that is being tried out in the Soviet Union."

The idea behind these words, taken from the opening speech at the Congress of Peace and Friendship with the U.S.S.R., held in December, 1935, in London, ran through the entire congress. This is to be clearly seen from the stenographic report of the congress, which has now been published in a separate book.

This notable congress attended by 773 delegates included delegates from the British National Peace Council which is a federation of 30 organizations; 129 delegates from cooperative societies covering 1,004,600 members; 231 delegates from trade unions covering 203,659 members; numerous delegates of Labor Party branches and of the Labor League of Youth, from unemployed organizations, from the Friends of the Soviet Union; from social, educational and cultural organizations; from the Communist Party and Young Communist League, and 25 delegates from religious societies.

The congress united representatives of various political tendencies —from Communist to conservative. Among the speakers and chairmen were Bernard Shaw; Sidney Webb; the late Comrade Saklatvala; Otto Schmidt; R. Boothby, Conservative M.P.; Seymour Cocks, M.P.; Lord Listowel; Lord Allen of Hurtwood; Viscount Hastings; Lord Marley; Mr. H. E. Metcalf, Conservative business man; Sir John Meynard; J. Jagger of the N.U.D.A.W.; one of the leaders of the cooperative movement, Leslie Paul; Mr. Brady of the National Peace Council; Dr. Maud Royden, a religious leader. The feelings which united and bound all these people together were expressed in the resolution unanimously adopted at the congress, and which included the following:

"This non-party congress . . . declares its conviction that the interests of international peace and the welfare of mankind require the closest possible cooperation in international affairs between the governments of Great Britain and the U.S.S.R." (p. 38.)

The entire proceedings and composition of the congress show that this conviction has taken hold of wide circles of English society. At the present moment, after the new onslaught by Hitler fascism against peace in general, this resolution is even more significant than it was five months ago.

* A review of *Britain and the Soviets*, Martin Lawrence, Ltd., London.

The reason why wide sections of people in England, including a section of the bourgeoisie, are striving for collaboration with the U.S.S.R. was formulated by Mr. Boothby, Conservative M.P., in his speech as one of the chairmen of the congress, when he said:

"I advocate an improvement in the relationship between Great Britain and Russia, and I advocate a loan from Great Britain to Russia, because I believe that today Russia is one of the few countries in the world which requires capital goods in large quantities, and because I believe that the only hope of solution of the problem of our distressed areas lies in an increase in our export of these capital goods.

"But I advocate an improvement in the relation between this country and Russia for deeper reasons even than these. First of all because I believe that . . . experiments are today being carried out in Russia in the social, economic and political fields which may well prove to be of infinite value to humanity in the future. And, secondly, because I believe that the best hope of preserving the peace of the world, upon which everything that makes life worth living depends, is the creation of a strong League of Nations. . . .

"I do not say that we shall be successful in building up an adequate system of collective security through the League of Nations, but I do say that the best chance of doing it is through friendship and collaboration at the present time between the British Empire and the Soviet Union. And I further say that, if we do not succeed, the outlook will be dark indeed" (pp. 5-6).

Mr. Boothby announced that greetings had been received from the Bishop of Birmingham, who wrote:

". . . we should welcome the contribution to the cause of international peace made by the Soviet government. We can also rightly give sympathetic consideration to the economic results of Communism insofar as these have improved the social welfare of the Russian people as a whole. The more we replace prejudice by understanding, the more likely are we to lead to such a sympathy between Britain and Russia as will make for the stability of Europe" (p. 24).

Seymour Cocks, Labor M.P., in an address on the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., spoke in detail about the contribution of the U.S.S.R. to the cause of peace. He gave a detailed and argued estimation of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. for the period from the Genoa conference in 1922 to the present moment.

"Soviet Russia, therefore, has no cause to go to war, and this complete lack of incentive, coupled with her positive need to be left alone in order to carry on the work of internal construction of which I have already spoken, constitute the solid and dependable foundation of her peace policy. All Russian armaments, therefore, are for defensive purposes. But, although defensive, they are efficient, and if Soviet Russia is attacked she will hit back with titanic blows" (pp. 13-14).

In speaking of the League of Nations and the U.S.S.R., Cocks said:

"In spite of its many weaknesses and defects, the Soviet Union regards the League as a valuable organization for the promotion of collective security and the preservation of peace, an organization which,

rightly used, will help to prevent war and to make thorny and stony and barren the path of the aggressor. She has been a loyal member of the League. She has taken a full share in its work. And in the present conflict, although she has no special interest in Africa and no quarrel with Italy, with which country indeed she has a favorable balance of trade, she has spoken and acted strongly in defense of the Covenant, and has heartily cooperated in the imposition of sanctions: because she feels that unless it can be clearly shown in this test case that no act of aggression shall be allowed to succeed, a further and far graver disaster will inevitably follow" (p. 19).

"Of the seven great powers in the world today, three—Germany, Italy, Japan—are plainly on the side of aggression, while four, Britain, America, France and Russia, have no desire at all for war. To these latter the smaller nations, with the possible exceptions of Hungary and Finland, look for leadership in a system of mutual protection. It is necessary to bind together in a peace bloc all those nations which not only are in favor of peace, but intend to insist that peace must be preserved at all costs if the danger of war which every day becomes more imminent is to be pressed back beyond the horizon of the future.

"In order that this may be done, it is essential to bring about an improvement in Anglo-Russian relations" (pp. 22-23).

"The common danger which confronts us all is world war on such a scale that everything will be destroyed. The common task which confronts us all is to save some form of civilization."

With these words Mr. Boothby, the chairman, characterized the situation. The congress, in expressing the conviction that one of the most important means of preventing war is the closest possible friendship between England and the U.S.S.R., left no doubts whatsoever as to its conviction that the progress of mankind as a whole at the present moment lies in the hands of the Soviet Union, and that a new, higher culture is being created in the U.S.S.R.

Fifteen speakers gave an elaborate picture of the economic foundations and tremendous cultural growth of the U.S.S.R.

All these speakers spoke of what they had seen in the Soviet Union with their own eyes. Their reports were augmented by speeches made by members of the British and South African delegations to the U.S.S.R. who had just returned from the Soviet Union. In the face of such an abundance of material as was given in these fifteen reports it was inevitable that some of the speakers would speak with some unclarity, and even that mistaken ideas were current. But in general they gave a convincing picture of the life and progress of the Soviet Union, a vivid story of the building of socialism on one-sixth of the earth's surface.

The culminating point of the congress was the speech of Professor Otto Sulevich Schmidt, who was greeted with an enthusiastic ovation. Schmidt gave a detailed report about the steps taken in the Soviet Union to explore and study the Arctic and about the voyage of the *Chelyuskin*. The following concluding words of his were met with stormy applause:

"During the first years of its existence, the Soviet Union faced really enormous difficulties. These temporary privations gave rise to

misunderstanding, misinterpretation, and even malicious libel, but the time of misunderstanding is past. The good life is no longer just an attractive vision, but a reality which is being created before our eyes. That is obvious to any impartial onlooker. Our country is contributing to the common cause. She is one of the strongest factors for the preservation of peace. The peoples of our country are themselves building their happiness, a happiness, moreover, not based on the suffering of other peoples. We want to live in peace and friendship with all nations" (pp. 127-128).

The report of the congress which has recently been published is a valuable and educational document. Besides the fact that it gives all those who read the English language an all-sided and truthful picture of life in the Soviet Union, it shows what great reserves there are of those who are opposed to war, reserves which can and must become the allies of the international proletariat in the struggle for peace.

New Books About the U.S.S.R. Published in France

By M. TAMER

THE growing interest and friendliness of wide sections of the people of France toward the Soviet Union are being expressed in the publication of a number of books which analyze the chief problems of socialist construction, and give a faithful picture of Soviet life.

Three books, issued by the "Edition Sociale Internationale" on the eve of the elections to the French Chamber of Deputies, and utilized by the French Communist Party in its pre-election agitation, differ both in the questions touched on in them and in their literary form. What they have in common is that they have been written with a profound and sincere love for the land where socialism is victorious and in a spirit of profound conviction of the certainty that the working people of the capitalist countries will be able to make all mankind free and happy if they will only follow the example of the working people of the Soviet Union.

I. ANDRE RIBARD: *The People in Power*

Andre Ribard, who is from bourgeois intellectual circles and is active in the anti-fascist People's Front, has written a book on the Soviet constitution, on Soviet democracy, and on the dictatorship of the proletariat. His book, *The People in Power*, is a voluminous scientific and literary work which embraces all the essential features of the structure and activity of the Soviet state. On reading this book the French reader will get an idea of how elections to the Soviets take place, how the organs of the Soviet government are constituted, how the law courts work in the Soviet Union, how the general public in the Soviet Union takes part in governing the country. Ribard makes use in his book of the materials of the Seventh Congress of the Soviets, and expounds the principles which lie at the basis of the new Soviet constitution.

The People in Power calls to mind the famous work written by the Webbs, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?* Although it is far behind the Webbs' book in the scope of the material or the problems taken up, Ribard's book, with no less insistence and consistency than *Soviet Communism*, proves the immeasurable superiority of Soviet democracy over the hypocritical democracies of the bourgeoisie, and proves that in the Soviet Union, and only in the Soviet Union, are the "people" really "in power".

If, as was natural, the Webbs in their arguments tried first and foremost to dispel the doubtings and prejudices of the sceptics in British bourgeois-liberal and Labor Party circles, it is no less natural that

Ribard should have written his book with an eye first and foremost to the "rank-and-file Frenchman", who naively believes that the freedom for which his forefathers fought throughout the glorious revolutionary history of France is in being in his country.

It is with biting sarcasm that Ribard ridicules the current philistine conception of "freedom":

> "The French", he writes, "usually say that France is the land of Freedom. It seems to them that it is a sort of natural monopoly, something like the treasures of antiquity in Greece, pudding in England and bullfighting in Spain. It is true that the beauty of Greece is on the decline, pudding smells of fat, and bullfighting is simply slaughter. Freedom for the Frenchman belongs to the category of worn-out phrases: freedom is a French products, perishable goods, importable from France but will not 'keep' abroad. . . ."

Yes, there is liberty in France, but for whom? Ribard answers: for "an extremely limted number of individuals".

> "Only the people for whose sake the savings, labor and patience of so many regularly empty-handed Frenchmen are consumed are the ones in connection with whom one can speak of liberty. Yes, they are free from the day they are born, because they find before them the ready mapped out class roads to power. Yes, they are free, from the time when, thanks to the existing order, they get rich and readily take their places in it. Yes, they are free when they open up campaigns in the press, when they buy up newspapers and control everything that is published in them."

Throughout Ribard's book genuine Soviet freedom is contrasted to spurious bourgeois "freedom", and the Soviets as genuine popular organs of power are contrasted to the organs of capitalist power which stand above the people, while the rotten and foul traditions of bourgeois political life are contrasted to the healthy and honest principles of the political life of the masses in the U.S.S.R.

> "In bourgeois political life, to be elected", he says, "means to betray. The newly elected supporter of the capitalist system begins to play the traitor before he has had time to thank his electors . . . his real trade becomes that of tight-rope walking which results in so many people breaking their necks, and which is the art of submitting to the will of the capitalists, while persuading the working people to be patient.
>
> "A member of a Soviet remains an individual engaged in productive labor. He only widens the field of his activity, by undertaking the responsibility of speaking not just for himself but for the majority of the 500 people who have elected him."

Ribard emphasizes the point that only in the Soviet Union do laws "not drag at the tail of facts, but go ahead of them"; that it is only in the Soviet Union that the leaders of the country are genuine leaders of the people, that only in the Soviet Union has "man, at last,

become a human being". Ribard proves to the reader that only in the Soviet Union have the ideals of 1789 and 1871 been put into practice. Every true, honest republican, he says, must not only be a supporter of socialism but a supporter of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets.

> "To build a real republic", he says, "you must first of all build socialism. But to be socialist, the French state must not simply be the handiwork of the working people. It will have to give them the wherewithal to hold their power so that they will be able to solve all problems in the socialist spirit.
>
> "The Socialist Republic will be a Soviet Republic, *i.e.*, will be composed of people's councils, analogous to the Russian Soviets—if not, it will not exist at all.
>
> "The rank and file of these Councils will have to have full power according to the principles announced by the Commune in 1871 and the Constitution of the U.S.S.R."

The conclusion drawn by Ribard is that if France is to become a free and happy country it must become socialist and Soviet, a view which testifies to the tremendous changes that have taken place in the minds of the foremost representatives of the intellectuals of France.

Still, it is worthy of mention that this interesting and valuable book, which in places is written with great literary brilliance, could have attracted still wider circles of readers than it has already done, had the material been treated more concretely and graphically. If the author had but given a few illustrations as to how some Soviet does its work, as to decisions of one kind or another made by a Soviet court, had he but given his estimation and the biographies of at least a few members of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., the book would have become still more convincing, and its argumentation still more irrefutable.

The theme of Ribard's book is very timely in connection with the forthcoming publication of the draft of the new Soviet Constitution, a document which will undoubtedly open up a new stage in the history of the struggle to liberate mankind, and call forth among the people in the capitalist countries an unheard-of and most lively interest in the state system of the U.S.S.R.

II. PAUL GSELL: *The World in Its Place*

Paul Gsell, like Ribard, is not a Communist, and, unlike Ribard, is not a politician. He is an outstanding man of art and a theatrical expert whose chief purpose in visiting the U.S.S.R. was to study its cultural life.

His book is a lively and varied description of the Soviet Union, founded mainly on the personal impressions of the author. The various chapters of his book deal not only with Soviet art, the theme which most interested the author, but the conditions of the workers, peasants and intellectuals in the U.S.S.R., the Red Army and the organization of the Soviet state.

"Some writers in Paris", Paul Gsell relates, "tried to talk me out of my trip to Moscow." "Perhaps you will never return", they said.

The book by Paul Gsell evidently was conceived to a great extent as a reply not only to the slanderous fairy tales of the reactionary press, but to the questions and doubts of many honest intellectuals who have not yet got their bearings as to what is really going on in the Soviet Union. Paul Gsell writes as though engaged in conversation with a fellow intellectual who, knowing nothing about the Soviet Union, is prejudiced against it. While he relates what he saw in the Soviet Union, he rebuts, in passing, a number of prejudices that are current among the intelligentsia and dwells in great detail on the broad democracy which has come into being for the working people of the U.S.S.R., and on the progress of socialist culture. It is with great enthusiasm that he states that

> ". . . no other form of society can give so much encouragement for people to show their individuality, and originality",

and that

> ". . . in the U.S.S.R. the intelligentsia are accorded honor as in no other country in the world."

In spite of certain factual inaccuracies Paul Gsell's book gives a correct and graphic idea of the Soviet Union, but it is the conclusions of the author which are particularly worthy of attention.

> "The bourgeois order of society is in its death agony", he writes. "All the conditions of its existence are a challenge to reason."

The capitalist world, for Gsell, is a "world inside out", where all human ideas are stood on their heads. He gives a witty characterization of the insoluble contradictions of the capitalist system, and quoting, in contrast, the example of the Soviet Union where all these contradictions have been solved, he again and again comes to the conclusion that the capitalist world is the "world inside out", and only the Soviet Union is "the world in its place".

> "Under the capitalist system the development of machinery is fatal. Being the property of individuals, machinery serves to cut down the number of workers. And the discharged workers can neither live, nor feed their families. So, the machines created by the intellect so as to bring happiness to mankind become the worst of misfortunes. This is the world inside out.
>
> "In the U.S.S.R. the machines belong to society, which enjoys the benefits of the inventions of human genius. Thanks to machines, the working people are coping with their work more quickly and more easily. They have more and more spare time for mental development, and nobody suffers from poverty. This is the world in its place.
>
> ". . . Under the capitalist system . . . there goes on the most insane destruction of grain, cotton, cattle, fruit, wine, and coffee. At the same time, millions of people are without food and clothing. This is the world inside out.

"In the U.S.S.R. there will never be superfluous foodstuffs or superfluous cloth, while there are people to feed and clothe. This is the world in its place.

". . . Under the bourgeois system the intellectuals are surrounded with contempt. It is difficult for them to earn a living, they have no resources for scientific research. Society deprives itself of the services which these select people could render it. This is the world inside out.

"In the U.S.S.R. the intellectuals are considered the most useful citizens, for their discoveries enrich the whole of mankind. Scientists are respected and encouraged. This is the world in its place."

And Paul Gsell who, without a doubt, speaks for a wide section of the French intelligentsia, expresses, in conclusion, his sincere and fervent wish that the whole world "will, at last, become a world in its place".

III. RENAUD JEAN: *The Soviet Land*

As distinct from the first two books, this one was written by a Communist. It represents his impressions en route on his trip to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1935.

Naturally, Renaud Jean, a well-known figure in the Communist Party of France, who has worked for long years among the peasantry, used his sojourn in the Soviet Union, primarily, to study socialist farming.

"We wanted", he said, "to try to understand collectivization, so as to give a lucid explanation of it to our readers."

This is how, at the beginning of the book, he formulates the task he has set out to accomplish.

Renaud Jean describes a number of state farms and collective farms seen by him, quotes the Stalinist rules and regulations for agricultural cooperative enterprises, shows types of rank-and-file collective farmers, gives their incomes in detail, and all the while compares what he saw in 1935 with the situation obtaining in the same villages and with the same peasant families in 1927 when he was in the Soviet Union for the first time. He goes into great detail about the conditions of the emancipated women collective farmers, who have achieved full equality with men, about the broad prospects of material and cultural improvements which have opened up before the young people of the collective farms, thanks to collectivization. On his visit to one of the collective farms, Renaud Jean had the opportunity of attending a general meeting of its members; this provided him with material for one of the best chapters in the book, a chapter which gives a picture of how collective farm democracy is carried out in practice.

"The question of the collective ownership of land," writes Comrade Marcel Cachin, in his foreword to Renaud Jean's book, "has been solved not in the minds of dreaming doctrinaires, but by the experience of a great people."

All Renaud Jean's notes, by the way, confirm this. And in the short

concluding chapter, addressed to the French peasants and raising the question of what collectivization has given the peasants in the Soviet Union, Renaud Jean writes:

> "The problem of property has been solved. Thanks to the collective farm, the peasant is the real master of the land. The land has ceased to be a means of man exploiting man. It has changed it into an instrument which belongs to everybody that uses it, under the one condition that they use it. The abolition of individual property in land, and collectivization, have at last created a form of property which really benefits the peasants. The revolution has replaced property for the few by property for all, consecrated by law."

These words will be read attentively by many French peasants whom the enemies of Communism try to frighten with the thought that "Communism will deprive them of the right to property in land". Comrade Renaud Jean's service is that in the pages of his book he has given a convincing reply to this main argument used by the agents of "The 200 Families"—the chief capitalists and exploiters of France—by means of which they are still able to hold back millions of peasants from allying themselves with the revolutionary proletariat.

At the beginning of his book, Renaud Jean remarks that the material collected by him is not exhaustive. This remark is quite in place; he journeyed through the Soviet Union in the middle of 1935, when the results of the agricultural year were not yet a complete, clear picture. This has left its mark on some of his conclusions.

When, in the final chapter, the author compares the material conditions of the Soviet and French peasants, he emphasizes the point that tsarist Russia was an extremely backward country, that the natural conditions for farming in the U.S.S.R. are not everywhere favorable, that in describing the material conditions of the collective farmers, one must take into consideration how poor they were in the past, and so on. All this is true, but Renaud Jean draws his conclusions not from the conditions of the collective farmers at the end of 1935 and the beginning of 1936, but from their conditions as he saw them in the middle of 1935, long before the end of the harvest campaign; only this can explain the way he puts the question that "the only honest and acceptable comparison is a comparison between tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union, between the conditions of the Russian working people under the old order and their conditions at the present time".

The book is having a good sale, and it may be expected that there will be a further edition. One trusts that in any new edition of the book account will be taken of the progress made in the recent period in Soviet farming, and in the material conditions of the collective farmers. If the book is so revised, Comrade Renaud Jean will be able to take account of the great advance in the welfare of the collective farm village as a result of the harvest of 1935, he will be able to give publicity to the brilliant successes achieved by the leading workers in socialist farming, such as the tractor drivers, combine operators, beet pickers, and cotton

pickers, in a word, all those who are successfully making world records in harvest yields and in the productivity of labor on the state farms and collective farms of the U.S.S.R. If he utilizes the materials of the conferences held in the Kremlin, where the foremost people from the state farms and the collective farms reported on their successes to the leaders of the Party and the government, he will have every foundation for speaking of *the indubitable material and cultural superiority* of the Soviet collective farms and agricultural workers over the French peasants, without needing to prove his point by reference to the backwardness of tsarist Russia. For we all know that any of the more than three thousand collective farmers who have been decorated by the Soviet government, who have agricultural technique at their finger tips, and are organizing the work on the collective farm in a new manner, who have every opportunity of giving themselves or their children higher education, and have brilliant and boundless prospects for a further advance—are many times *richer* than any peasant, however well-to-do, in the capitalist countries, whose farms are continually subject to all the vicissitudes of crises.

Renaud Jean's book in its present form will win quite a number of active friends of the Soviet Union from among the French peasants. But it will have an incomparably greater, and more convincing effect, when it shows "The Soviet Land" as it actually is *at the present day.*

Books Received

[*In printing the list of books below, we propose systematically to publish lists of books in various languages received for review.*—EDITORIAL BOARD.]

MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL COLONIAL QUESTION. By Joseph Stalin. Martin Lawrence, London, 1936, 304 pp. 5/-.

MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL COLONIAL QUESTION. By Joseph Stalin. International Publishers, New York, 1936, 304 pp. $1.50.

Both the London and New York editions of Comrade Stalin's book *Marxism and the National Colonial Question* contain the translation in English of all the material printed in the Russian edition of this book.

THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Collected Report. Special Preface by G. Dimitroff exclusive to this edition. Modern Books, Ltd., London, 1936.

A collection containing the materials of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, and including the reports made there by Comrades Pieck, Dimitroff, Ercoli, and Manuilsky, including the speeches of Comrades Kuusinen, Wang Ming, Cachin, Thorez, Marty, Pollitt and Gottwald as well as the concluding speech of Comrade Dimitroff and the resolutions. The collected report is provided with a brief preface written by Comrade Dimitroff, specially for this edition, which is the first collection of the materials of the Seventh Congress in the English language.

REVOLT ON THE CLYDE. By William Gallacher, M.P. Lawrence & Wishart, Ltd., London, 1936, 301 pp. 10/6.

An autobiography of Comrade William Gallacher, proletarian revolutionary, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and first Communist member of Parliament, from the mining constituency of West Fife, elected on a Communist program. Chapter headings include: "Early Years", "The February Strike", "Conscription and Prison", etc.

RULERS OF AMERICA—A Study of Finance Capital. By Anna Rochester. International Publishers, New York, 1936, 367 pp. $2.50.

Rulers of America is an economic investigation showing how economic life in America as a whole is subordinated to a handful of capitalist magnates. The first part of the book, containing the chapters, "The House of Morgan", "Rockefeller, a Family Power", "The Mellons of Pittsburgh", "How Finance Capital Rules Industry", "Controlling the Government", etc., gives plentiful statistical material on the part played

by the big monopolist amalgamations in the economic and political life of the country. The second part gives a review of the role of finance capital in various branches of industry. The third part is devoted to the economic crisis and the prospects of a revolutionary crisis in the U.S.A.

WHEN JAPAN GOES TO WAR. By E. Yohan and O. Tanin. International Publishers, New York, 271 pp. $1.75.

When Japan Goes to War is a book showing the preparations for war being made by Japanese imperialism, and analyzing its economic resources in a future war. The book contains such chapters as "Japan's Requirements for One Year's War", "The Military Organization of Japan's National Economy", "The War Output Capacity of Japanese Industry and the Availability of the Principal Strategical War Materials", "Japan's Economic Strain in a Great War".

THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES. By James S. Allen. International Publishers, New York, 224 pp. $1.25.

This is a book by an American Communist dealing with the fate of the Negro population in the U.S.A., and the path of their struggle for their liberation. Chapters include: "The Black Belt: Area of the Negro Majority", "The Economic Survivals of Slavery", "Southern Industrialization and the Black Belt", the "Negro Bourgeoisie", and "The Right to Self-Determination", etc.

EASTER WEEK. By Brian O'Neill. Lawrence & Wishart, Ltd., London, 1936, 96 pp.

An historical outline of the Irish Rebellion in 1916, published on the twentieth anniversary of this rebellion.

STAY DOWN MINER. By Montagu Slater. Martin Lawrence, Ltd., 1936. 81 pp. 2/6.

A book of essays on the strike struggle of the workers of South Wales in 1935.

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